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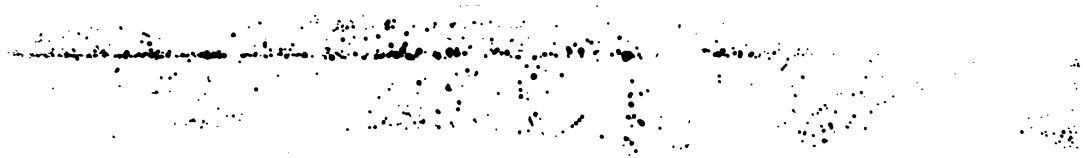

THE

WORKS

OF

WILLIAM MASON, M. A.

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WILLIAM MASON, M. A.

PRECENTOR OF YORK, AND RECTOR OF ASTON.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

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THE

WORKS

OF

WILLIAM MASON, M. A.

VOL. III.

CONTAINING

THE ART OF PAINTING BY CHARLES ALPHONSE DU FRESNOY. NOTES BY SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS. MR. DRYDEN'S PREFACE. MR. POPE'S EPISTLE TO MR. JERVAS. ESSAYS ON ENGLISH CHURCH MUSIC.

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ERRATA.

Page 26, line 35 latin, for *capace* read *capacem.*
34, Rule IX. at the bottom of the page, for *drapery of* read *drapery to the head.*
35, line 132 latin, after *figuræ* dele ?
103, — 15, for *Frati* read *Frari.*
234, — 8, for *gentleness* read *gentilness.*
236, — 1, ditto.
267, after *Nicolo del Pomerancio*, 240, instead of 3 read 8.
277, end of the first line of G, for *an* read *any.*
288, line 24, after *genius*, instead of *who* read *which.*
371, — 7, after *omitted* dele *By.*
380, last line but one, instead of *a necessary* read *as necessary.*

THE

ART OF PAINTING,

OF

CHARLES ALPHONSE DU FRESNOY;

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH VERSE

BY WILLIAM MASON, M. A.

WITH ANNOTATIONS

BY SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS.

EPISTLE

TO

SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS.

WHEN *Dryden*, worn with sickness, bow'd with years,
Was doom'd (my Friend, let pity warm thy tears,)
The galling pang of penury to feel,
For ill-placed loyalty, and courtly zeal,
To see that laurel which his brows o'erspread,
Transplanted droop on *Shadwell's* barren head,
The Bard oppress'd, yet not subdued by fate,
For very bread descended to translate:
And he, whose fancy, copious as his phrase,
Could light at will expression's brightest blaze,
On Fresnoy's lay employ'd his studious hour;
But niggard there of that melodious power,
His pen in haste the hireling task to close
Transform'd the studied strain to careless prose,
Which, fondly lending faith to French pretence,
Mistook its meaning, or obscur'd its sense.
Yet still he pleas'd; for *Dryden* still must please,
Whether with artless elegance and ease

He glides in prose, or from its tinkling chime,
By varied pauses, purifies his rhyme,
And mounts on Maro's plumes, and soars his heights sublime.

This artless elegance, this native fire
Provok'd his tuneful heir* to strike the lyre,
Who, proud his numbers with that prose to join,
Wove an illustrious wreath for Friendship's shrine.

How oft, on that fair shrine when Poets bind
The flowers of song, does partial passion blind
Their judgment's eye! How oft does truth disclaim
The deed, and scorn to call it genuine fame!
How did she here, when Jervas was the theme,
Waft thro' the ivory gate the Poet's dream!
How view, indignant, error's base alloy
The sterling lustre of his praise destroy.
Which now, if praise like his my Muse could coin,
Current through ages, she would stamp for thine!

Let Friendship, as she caus'd, excuse the deed;
With thee, and such as thee, she must succeed.

NOTE.

* Mr. Pope, in his Epistle to Jervas, has these lines:

Read these instructive leaves, in which conspire
Fresnoy's close art with Dryden's native fire.

But what, if Fashion tempted Pope astray?
The witch has spells, and Jervas knew a day
When mode-struck belles and beaux were proud to come,
And buy of him a thousand years of bloom.*

Ev'n then I deem it but a venal crime:
Perish alone that selfish sordid rhyme,
Which flatters lawless sway, or tinsel pride:
Let black Oblivion plunge it in her tide.

From fate like this my truth-supported lays,
Ev'n if aspiring to thy pencil's praise,
Would flow secure: but humbler aims are mine;
Know, when to thee I consecrate the line,
'Tis but to thank thy genius for the ray
Which pours on Fresnoy's rules a fuller day:
Those candid strictures, those reflections new,
Refin'd by taste, yet still as nature true,
Which, blended here with his instructive strains,
Shall bid thy art inherit new domains;
Give her in Albion as in Greece to rule,
And guide (what thou hast form'd) a British School.
And, O, if aught thy Poet can pretend
Beyond his favourite wish to call thee Friend,

NOTE.

* Alluding to another couplet in the same Epistle

Beauty, frail flower, that every season fears,
Blooms in thy colours *for a thousand years.*

Be it that here his tuneful toil has drest
The Muse of Fresnoy in a modern vest;
And with that skill his fancy could bestow,
Taught the close folds to take an easier flow;
Be it, that here thy partial smile approv'd
The pains he lavish'd on the art he lov'd.

W. MASON.

October 10, 1782.

PREFACE.

THE poem of M. du Fresnoy, when considered as a treatise on Painting, may unquestionably claim the merit of giving the leading principles of the art with more precision, conciseness, and accuracy, than any work of the kind that has either preceded or followed it; yet as it was published about the middle of the seventeenth century, many of the precepts it contains have been so frequently repeated by later writers, that they have lost the air of novelty, and will, consequently, now be held common; some of them too may, perhaps, not be so generally true as to claim the authority of absolute rules: Yet the reader of taste will always be pleased to see a Frenchman holding out to his countrymen the study of nature, and the chaste models of antiquity, when (if we except Le Seur and Nicolo Poussin, who were Fresnoy's contemporaries) so few painters of that nation have regarded either of these archetypes. The modern artist also will be proud to emulate that simplicity of style, which this work has for more than a century recommended; and which, having only very lately got the better of fluttering drapery and theatrical

attitude, is become one of the principal tests of picturesque excellence.

But if the text may have lost somewhat of its original merit, the notes of M. du Piles, which have hitherto accompanied it, have lost much more. Indeed it may be doubted whether they ever had merit in any considerable degree. Certain it is that they contain such a parade of common-place quotation, with so small a degree of illustrative science, that I have thought proper to expel them from this edition, in order to make room for their betters.

As to the poetical powers of my author, I do not suppose that these alone would ever have given him a place in the numerous libraries which he now holds; and I have, therefore, often wondered that M. de Voltaire, when he gave an account of the authors who appeared in the age of Louis XIV. should dismiss Fresnoy, with saying, in his decisive manner, that "his poem has succeeded with such persons as could bear to read Latin verse, not of the Augustan age."* This is the criticism of a mere Poet. Nobody, I should suppose,

NOTE.

* Du Frenoi (Charles) né à Paris 1611, peintre et poëte. Son poëme de la Peinture à réussi auprès de ceux qui peuvent lire d'autres vers Latins que ceux du siècle d'Auguste.

Siècle de Louis XIV. Tom I.

ever read Fresnoy to admire, or even criticise his versification, but either to be instructed by him as a Painter, or improved as a Virtuoso.

It was this latter motive only, I confess, that led me to attempt the following translation; which was begun in very early youth, with a double view of implanting in my own memory the principles of a favourite art, and of acquiring a habit of versification, for which purpose the close and condensed style of the original seemed peculiarly calculated, especially when considered as a sort of school exercise. However, the task proved so difficult, that when I had gone through a part of it I remitted of my diligence, and proceeded at such separate intervals, that I had passed many posterior productions through the press before this was brought to any conclusion in manuscript; and after it was so, it lay long neglected, and would certainly have never been made public, had not Sir Joshua Reynolds requested a sight of it, and made an obliging offer of illustrating it by a series of his own notes. This prompted me to revise it with all possible accuracy; and as I had preserved the strictures which my late excellent friend Mr. Gray had made many years before on the version, as it then stood, I attended to each of them in their order with that deference which every criticism of his must demand. Besides this, as much more time was now elapsed since I had perused the copy, my own eye was become more

open to its defects. I found the rule which my author had given to his painter full as useful to a writer:

> (Ast ubi consilium deerit sapientis amici
> Id tempus dabit, atque mora intermissa labori.)

And I may say, with truth, that having become from this circumstance, as impartial, if not as fastidious, to my own work, as any other critic could possibly have been, I hardly left a single line in it without giving it, what I thought an emendation. It is not, therefore, as a juvenile work that I now present it to the public, but as one which I have improved to the utmost of my mature abilities, in order to make it more worthy of its Annotator.

In the preceding Epistle I have obviated, I hope, every suspicion of arrogance, in attempting this work after Mr. Dryden. The single consideration that his version was in prose, were in itself sufficient; because, as Mr. Pope has justly observed, verse and even rhyme is the best mode of conveying preceptive truths, "as in this "way they are more shortly expressed, and more easily "retained." * Still less need I make an apology for undertaking it after Mr. Wills, who in the year 1754, published a translation of it in metre without rhyme.†

* See his Advertisement before his Essay on Man.

† I call it so rather than blank verse, because it was devoid of all harmony of numbers. The beginning, which I shall here insert, is a sufficient proof of the truth of this assertion:

This gentleman, a painter by profession, assumed for his motto,

Tractant fabrilia fabri;

but however adroit he might be in handling the tools of his own art, candour must own that the tools of a poet and a translator were beyond his management: attempting also a task absolutely impossible, that of expressing the sense of his author in an equal number of lines, he produced a version, which (if it was ever read through by any person except myself) is now totally forgotten. Nevertheless I must do him the justice to own, that he understood the original text; that he detected some errors in Mr. Dryden's translation, which had escaped Mr. Jervas (assisted, as it is said, by his friend Mr. Pope) in that corrected edition which Mr. Graham inscribed to the Earl of Burlington; and that I have myself sometimes profited by his labours. It is also from his edition that I reprint the following Life of the Author, which was drawn up from Felibien and other biographers by the late Dr. Birch, who, with his usual industry, has collected all they have said on Fresnoy's subject.

As Painting, Poesy, so similar
To Poesy be Painting: emulous
Alike, each to her sister doth refer,
Alternate change the office and the name;
Mute verse is this, that speaking picture call'd.

From this little specimen, the reader will easily form a judgment of the whole.

THE

LIFE

OF

MONS. DU FRESNOY.

CHARLES ALPHONSE DU FRESNOY was born at Paris in the year 1611. His father, who was an eminent apothecary in that city, intending him for the profession of physic, gave him as good an education as possible. During the first year, which he spent at the college, he made a very considerable progress in his studies: but as soon as he was raised to the higher classes, and began to contract a taste of poetry, his genius for it opened itself, and he carried all the prizes in it, which were proposed to excite the emulation of his fellow-students. His inclination for it was heightened by exercise; and his earliest performances showed, that he was capable of becoming one of the greatest poets of his age, if his love of painting, which equally possessed him, had not divided his time and application. At last, he laid aside all thoughts of the study of physic, and declared absolutely for that of painting, notwithstanding the opposition of

his parents, who, by all kinds of severity, endeavoured to divert him from pursuing his passion for that art, the profession of which they unjustly considered in a very contemptible light. But the strength of his inclination defeating all the measures taken to suppress it, he took the first opportunity of cultivating his favourite study.

He was nineteen or twenty years of age when he began to learn to design under Francis Perier; and having spent two years in the school of that painter, and of Simon Voüet, he thought proper to take a journey into Italy, where he arrived in the end of 1633, or the beginning of 1634.

As he had, during his studies, applied himself very much to that of geometry, he began, upon his coming to Rome, to paint landscapes, buildings, and ancient ruins. But, for the first two years of his residence in that city, he had the utmost difficulty to support himself, being abandoned by his parents, who resented his having rejected their advice in the choice of his profession; and the little stock of money which he had provided before he left France, proving scarce sufficient for the expenses of his journey to Italy. Being destitute, therefore, of friends and acquaintance at Rome, he was reduced to such distress, that his chief subsistence for the greatest part of that time was bread and a small quantity of cheese. But he diverted the sense of uneasy

circumstances by an intense and indefatigable application to painting, till the arrival of the celebrated Peter Mignard, who had been the companion of his studies under Voüet, set him more at ease. They immediately engaged in the strictest friendship, living together in the same house, and being commonly known at Rome by the name of the INSEPARABLES, they were employed by the Cardinal of Lyons in copying all the best pieces in the Farnese palace. But their principal study was the works of Raffaelle and other great masters, and the antiques; and they were constant in their attendance every evening at the academy, in designing after models. Mignard had superior talents in practice; but Du Fresnoy was a greater master of the rules, history, and theory of his profession. They communicated to each other their remarks and sentiments; Du Fresnoy furnishing his friend with noble and excellent ideas, and the latter instructing the former to paint with greater expedition and ease.

Poetry shared with painting the time and thoughts of Du Fresnoy, who, as he penetrated into the secrets of the latter art, wrote down his observations; and having at last acquired a full knowledge of the subject, formed a design of writing a poem upon it, which he did not finish till many years afterwards, when he had consulted the best writers, and examined with the utmost care the most admired pictures in Italy.

While he resided there he painted several pictures, particularly the ruins of the Campo Vaccino, with the city of Rome in the figure of a woman; a young woman of Athens going to see the monument of a lover; Æneas carrying his father to his tomb; Mars finding Lavinia sleeping on the banks of the Tyber descending from his chariot, and lifting up the veil which covered her, which is one of his best pieces: the birth of Venus, and that of Cupid. He had a peculiar esteem for the works of Titian, several of which he copied, imitating that excellent painter in his colouring, as he did Caracci in his design.

About the year 1653, he went with Mignard to Venice,* and travelled throughout Lombardy; and during his stay in that city painted a Venus for Signor Mark Paruta, a noble Venetian, and a Madonna, a half-length. These pictures showed that he had not studied those of Titian without success. Here the two friends separated, Mignard returning to Rome, and Du Fresnoy to France. He had read his poem to the best painters in all places through which he passed, and particularly

* This is the account of Mons. Felibien, *Entretiens sur les Vies et sur les Ouvrages des plus excellens Peintres*, tom. II. edit. *Lond.* 1705, p. 333. But the late author of *Abregé de la Vie des plus fameux Peintres*, part. 11. p. 284, edit. Par. 1745, in 4to. says, that Fresnoy went to Venice, without Mignard; and that the latter, being importuned by the letters of the former, made a visit to him in that city.

to Albano and Guercino, then at Bologna; and he consulted several men famous for their skill in polite literature.

He arrived at Paris in 1656, where he lodged with Mons. Potel, Greffier of the Council, in the street Beautreillis, where he painted a small room; afterwards a picture for the altar of the church of St. Margaret in the suburb St. Antoine. Mons. Bordier, Intendant of the Finances, who was then finishing his house of Rinci, now Livry, having seen this picture, was so highly pleased with it, that he took Du Fresnoy to that house, which is but two leagues from Paris, to paint the Salon. In the ceiling was represented the burning of Troy; Venus is standing by Paris, who makes her remark how the fire consumes that great city; in the front is the god of the river, which runs by it, and other deities; this is one of his best performances, both for disposition and colouring. He afterwards painted a considerable number of pictures for the cabinets of the curious, particularly an altar-piece for the church of Lagni, representing the Assumption of the Virgin and the Twelve Apostles, all as large as life. At the Hotel d'Erval (now d'Armenonville) he painted several pictures, and among them a ceiling of a room with four beautiful landscapes, the figures of which were by Mignard. As he understood architecture very well, he drew for Mons. de Vilargelé all the designs of a house which that gentleman built four leagues from Avignon;

as likewise those for the Hotel de Lyonne, and for that of the Grand Prior de Souvré. The high altar of the Filles-Dieu, in the street of St. Denis, was also designed by him.

Though he had finished his poem before he had left Italy, and communicated it, as has been already mentioned, to the best judges of that country, yet, after his return to France he continued still to revise it, with a view to treat more at length of some things, which did not seem to him sufficiently explained. This employment took up no small part of his time, and was the reason of his not having finished so many pictures as he might otherwise have done. And though he was desirous to see his work in print, he thought it improper to publish it without a French translation, which he deferred undertaking from time to time, out of diffidence of his own skill in his native language, which he had in some measure lost by his long residence in Italy. Mons. de Piles was therefore at last induced, at his desire, and by the merit of the poem, to translate it into French, his version being revised by Du Fresnoy himself: and the latter had begun a commentary upon it, when he was seized with a palsy, and after languishing four or five months under it, died at the house of one of his brothers at Villiers-le-bel, four leagues from Paris, in 1665, at the age of fifty-four, and was interred in the parish-church there. He had quitted his lodgings at Mons. Potel's,

upon Mignard's return to Paris in 1658, and the two friends lived together from that time till the death of Du Fresnoy.

His poem was not published till three years after his death, when it was printed at Paris in duodecimo, with the French version and remarks of Mons. de Piles, and has been justly admired for its elegance and perspicuity.

THE

ART OF PAINTING,

WITH THE

ORIGINAL TEXT SUBJOINED.

THE ART OF PAINTING.

True poetry the Painter's power displays:
True Painting emulates the Poet's lays;
The rival sisters, fond of equal fame,
Alternate change their office and their name;
Bid silent Poetry the canvass warm,
The tuneful page with speaking picture charm.
What to the ear sublimer rapture brings,
That strain alone the genuine Poet sings;
That form alone where glows peculiar grace,
The genuine Painter condescends to trace:
No sordid theme will verse or paint admit,
Unworthy colours, if unworthy wit.

DE ARTE GRAPHICA.

Ut Pictura Poesis erit; similisque Poesi
Sit Pictura; refert par æmula quæque sororem,
Alternantque vices et nomina; muta Poesis
Dicitur hæc, Pictura loquens solet illa vocari.
Quod fuit auditu gratum cecinere Poetæ;
Quod pulchrum aspectu Pictores pingere curant:
Quæque Poetarum numeris indigna fuere,
Non eadem Pictorum operam studiumque merentur:

From you, blest Pair! Religion deigns to claim
Her sacred honours; at her awful name
High o'er the stars you take your soaring flight,
And rove the regions of supernal light;
Attend to lays that flow, from tongues divine,
Undazzled gaze where charms seraphic shine;
Trace beauty's beam to its eternal spring,
And pure to man the fire celestial bring.
Then round this globe on joint pursuit ye stray,
Time's ample annals studiously survey;
And from the eddies of Oblivion's stream
Propitious snatch each memorable theme.
Thus to each form, in heaven, and earth, and sea,
That wins with grace, or awes with dignity,
To each exalted deed, which dares to claim
The glorious meed of an immortal fame,

Ambæ quippe sacros ad religionis honores
Sydereos superant ignes, aulamque tonantis
Ingressæ, Divûm aspectu, alloquioque fruuntur;
Oraque magna Deûm, et dicta observata reportant,
Cœlestemque suorum operum mortalibus ignem.
Inde per hunc Orbem studiis coëuntibus errant,
Carpentes quæ digna sui, revolutaque lustrant
Tempora, quærendis consortibus argumentis.
Denique quæcunque in cœlo, terrâque, mariquè
Longius in tempus durare, ut pulchra merentur,
Nobilitate suâ, claroque insignia casu,
Dives et ampla manet Pictores atque Poetas
Materies; inde alta sonant per sæcula mundo

That meed ye grant. Hence, to remotest age,
The hero's soul darts from the Poet's page,
Hence, from the canvass still, with wonted state,
He lives, he breathes, he braves the frown of Fate,
Such powers, such praises, heaven-born Pair, belong
To magic colouring, and creative song.
But here I pause, nor ask Pieria's train,
Nor Phœbus self to elevate the strain:
Vain is the flow'ry verse, when reasoning sage
And sober precept fill the studied page;
Enough if there the fluent numbers please,
With native clearness, and instructive ease.
Nor shall my rules the artist's hand confine,
Whom practice gives to strike the free design;
Or banish Fancy from her fairy plains,
Or fetter Genius in didactic chains:

Nomina, magnanimis Heroibus inde superstes
Gloria, perpetuoque operum miracula restant:
Tantus inest divis honor artibus atque potestas.
Non mihi Pieridum chorus hic, nec Apollo vocandus,
Majus ut eloquium numeris, aut gratia fandi
Dogmaticis illustret opus rationibus horrens:
Cum nitidâ tantùm et facili digesta loquelâ,
Ornari præcepta negent, contenta doceri.
Nec mihi mens animusve fuit constringere nodos
Artificum manibus, quos tantùm dirigit usus;
Indolis ut vigor inde potens obstrictus hebescat,
Normarum numero immani, Geniumque moretur:

No, 'tis their liberal purpose to convey
That scientific skill which wins its way.
On docile Nature, and transmits to youth,
Talents to reach, and taste to relish truth;
While inborn genius from their aid receives
Each supplemental art that practice gives.
[a] 'Tis Painting's first chief business to explore,
What lovelier forms in Nature's boundless store
Are best to art and ancient taste allied,
For ancient taste those forms has best applied.
Till this be learn'd, how all things disagree!
How all one wretched, blind barbarity!
The fool to native ignorance confin'd,
No beauty beaming on his clouded mind;
Untaught to relish, yet too proud to learn,
He scorns the grace his dulness can't discern.
Hence reason to caprice resigns the stage,
And hence that maxim of the ancient Sage,

Sed rerum ut pollens ars cognitione, gradatim
Naturæ sese insinuet, verique capace
Transeat in Genium; Geniusque usu induat artem.
[b] Præcipua imprimis artisque potissima pars est,
Nôsse quid in rebus natura creârit ad artem
Pulchrius, idque modum juxtà, mentemque vetustam;
Quâ sine barbaries cæca et temeraria pulchrum
Negligit, insultans ignotæ audacior arti,
Ut curare nequit, quæ non modo noverit esse;
Illud apud veteres fuit unde notabile dictum,

[a] I. Of the Beautiful. [b] I. De Pulchro.

" Of all vain fools with coxcomb talents curst,
" Bad Painters and bad Poets are the worst."
When first the orient rays of beauty move
The conscious soul, they light the lamp of love;
Love wakes those warm desires that prompt our chace,
To follow and to fix each flying grace;
But earth-born graces sparingly impart
The symmetry supreme of perfect art:
For tho' our casual glance may sometimes meet
With charms that strike the soul, and seem complete,
Yet if those charms too closely we define,
Content to copy Nature line for line,
Our end is lost. Not such the Master's care,
Curious he culls the perfect from the fair;
Judge of his art, thro' beauty's realm he flies,
Selects, combines, improves, diversifies;
With nimble step pursues the fleeting throng,
And clasps each Venus as she glides along.

" Nil Pictore malo securius atque Poetâ."
Cognita amas, et amata cupis, sequerisque cupita;
Passibus assequeris tandem quæ fervidus urges:
Illa tamen quæ pulchra decent; non omnia casus
Qualiacumque dabunt, etiamve simillima veris:
Nam quamcumque modo servili haud sufficit ipsam
Naturam exprimere ad vivum: sed ut arbiter artis,
Seliget ex illâ tantùm pulcherrima Pictor;
Quodque minus pulchrum, aut mendosum, corriget ipse
Marte suo, formæ Veneres captando fugaces.

[c] Yet some there are who indiscreetly stray,
Where purblind Practice only points the way;
Who every theoretic truth disdain,
And blunder on mechanically vain.
Some too there are, within whose languid breasts
A lifeless heap of embryo knowledge rests
When nor the pencil feels their drowsy art,
Nor the skill'd hand explains the meaning heart.
In chains of sloth such talents droop confin'd:
'Twas not by words Apelles charm'd mankind.
Hear then the Muse; though perfect beauty towers
Above the reach of her descriptive powers,
Yet will she strive some leading rules to draw
From sovereign Nature's universal law;
Stretch her wide view o'er ancient Art's domain,
Again establish Reason's legal reign,

[d] Utque manus grandi nil nomine practica dignum
Assequitur, primum arcanæ quam deficit artis
Lumen, et in præceps abitura ut cæca vagatur;
Sic nihil ars operâ manuum privata supremum
Exequitur, sed languet iners uti vincta lacertos;
Dispositumque typum non linguâ pinxit Apelles.
Ergo licet totâ normam haud possimus in arte
Ponere, (cum nequeant quæ sunt pulcherrima dici,)
Nitimur hæc paucis, scrutati summa magistræ
Dogmata Naturæ, artisque exemplaria prima
Altius intuiti; sic mens habilisque facultas

[c] II. Of Theory and Practice. [d] II. De Speculatione et Praxi.

Genius again correct with science sage,
And curb luxuriant Fancy's headlong rage.
" Right ever reigns its stated bounds between,
" And taste, like morals, loves the golden mean."
[e] Some lofty theme let judgment first supply,
Supremely fraught with grace and majesty;
For fancy copious, free to every charm
That lines can circumscribe or colours warm;
Still happier, if that artful theme dispense
A poignant moral and instructive sense.
[g] Then let the virgin canvass smooth expand,
To claim the sketch and tempt the Artist's hand:
Then bold INVENTION, all the powers diffuse,
Of all thy sisters thou the noblest Muse:

Indolis excolitur, Geniumque Scientia complet;
Luxuriansque in monstra furor compescitur Arte.
" *Est modus in rebus, sunt certi denique fines,*
" *Quos ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum.*"
[f] His positis, erit optandum thema, nobile, pulchrum,
Quodque venustatum, circa formam atque colorem,
Sponte capax, amplam emeritæ mox præbeat Arti
Materiam, retegens aliquid salis et documenti.
[i] Tandem opus aggredior; primoque occurrit in albo
Disponenda typi, concepta potente Minervâ,
Machina, quæ nostris INVENTIO dicitur oris:

[e] III. Of the Subject.
[g] Invention the first part of painting.
[f] III. De Argumento.
[h] Inventio prima picturæ pars.

Thee every art, thee every grace inspires,
Thee Phœbus fills with all his brightest fires.
[i] Choose such judicious force of shade and light
As suits the theme, and satisfies the sight;
Weigh part with part, and with prophetic eye
The future power of all thy tints descry;
And those, those only on the canvass place,
Whose hues are social, whose effect is grace.
[k] Vivid and faithful to the historic page,
Express the customs, manners, forms, and age;
[l] Nor paint conspicuous on the foremost plain
Whate'er is false, impertinent, or vain;

Illa quidem priùs ingenuis instructa sororum
Artibus Aonidum, et Phœbi sublimior æstu.
[m] Quærendasque inter posituras, luminis, umbræ,
Atque futurorum jam præsentire colorum
Par erit harmoniam, captando ab utrisque venustum.
[n] Sit thematis genuina ac viva expressio, juxta
Textum antiquorum, propriis cum tempore formis.
[o] Nec quod inane, nihil facit ad rem, sive videtur
Improprium, miniméque urgens, potiora tenebit

[i] IV. Disposition or economy of the whole.
[k] V. The Subject to be treated faithfully.
[l] VI. Every foreign ornament to be rejected.
[m] IV. Dispositio, sive operis totius œconomia.
[n] V. Fidelitas Argumenti.
[o] VI. Inane rejiciendum.

But like the Tragic Muse, thy lustre throw,
Where the chief action claims its warmest glow.
This rare, this arduous task no rules can teach,
No skill'd preceptor point, no practice reach;
'Tis taste, 'tis genius, 'tis the heav'nly ray
Prometheus ravish'd from the car of day.
In Egypt first the infant art appear'd,
Rude and unform'd; but when to Greece she steer'd
Her prosperous course, fair Fancy met the Maid,
Wit, Reason, Judgment, lent their powerful aid;
Till all complete the gradual wonder shone,
And vanquish'd Nature own'd herself outdone.
'Twas there the goddess fix'd her blest abodes,
There reign'd in Corinth, Athens, Sicyon, Rhodes,

Ornamenta operis; Tragicæ sed lege sororis,
Summa ubi res agitur, vis summa requiritur Artis.
Ista labore gravi, studio, monitisque magistri
Ardua pars nequit addisci: rarissima namque,
Ni priùs æthereo rapuit quod ab axe Prometheus
Sit jubar infusum menti cum flamine vitæ.
Mortali haud cuivis divina hæc munera dantur;
Non uti Dædaleam *licet omnibus ire Corinthum.*
Ægypto informis quondam pictura reperta,
Græcorum studiis, et mentis acumine crevit:
Egregiis tandem illustrata et adulta magistris,
Naturam visa est miro superare labore.
Quos inter, Graphidos Gymnasia prima fuêre
Portus Athenarum, Sicyon, Rhodos, atque Corinthus,

Her various vot'ries various talents crown'd:
Yet each alike her inspiration own'd:
Witness those marble miracles of grace,
Those tests of symmetry where still we trace
All art's perfection: With reluctant gaze
To these the genius of succeeding days
Looks dazzled up, and, as their glories spread,
Hides in his mantle his diminish'd head.
[p] Learn then from Greece, ye Youths, Proportion's law,
Inform'd by her, each just POSITION draw;
Skilful to change each large unequal part,
With varied motion and contrasted art;
Full in the front the nobler limbs to place,
And poise each figure on its central base,
But chief from her that flowing outline take,
Which floats, in wavy windings, like the snake,

Disparia inter se modicùm ratione laboris;
Ut patet ex veterum Statuis, formæ atque decoris
Archetypis; queis posterior nil protulit ætas
Condignum, et non inferius longè, arte modoque.
[q] Horum igitur vera ad normam positura legetur:
Grandia, inæqualis, formosaque partibus amplis
Anteriora dabit membra, in contraria motu
Diverso variata, suo libratáque centro;
Membrorumque sinus ignis flammantis ad instar,
Serpenti undantes flexu; sed lævi, plana,

[p] VII. Design or Position, the second part of painting.

[q] VII. Graphis seu Positura secunda picturæ pars.

Or lambent flame; which, ample, broad, and long,
Reliev'd not swell'd, at once both light and strong,
Glides thro' the graceful whole. Her art divine
Cuts not, in parts minute, the tame design,
But by a few bold strokes, distinct and free,
Calls forth the charms of perfect symmetry.
True to anatomy, more true to grace,
She bids each muscle know its native place;
Bids small from great in just gradation rise,
And, at one visual point, approach the eyes.
  Yet deem not, Youths, that Perspective can give
Those charms complete by which your works shall live:
What tho' her rules may to your hand impart
A quick mechanic substitute for art,
Yet formal, geometric shapes she draws;
Hence the true Genius scorns her rigid laws;

Magnaque signa, quasi sine tubere subdita tactu,
Ex longo deducta fluant, non secta minutim.
Insertisque toris sint nota ligamina, juxta
Compagem anatomes, et membrificatio Græco
Deformata modo, paucisque expressa lacertis,
Qualis apud veteres; totoque Eurythmia partes
Componat; genitumque suo generante sequenti
Sit minus, et puncto videantur cuncta sub uno.
  Regula certa licet nequeat prospectica dici,
Aut complementum graphidos; sed in arte juvamen,
Et modus accelerans operandi: at corpora falso
Sub visu in multis referens, mendosa labascit:

By Nature taught he strikes th' unerring lines,
Consults his eye, and as he sees designs.
[r] Man's changeful race, the sport of chance and time,
Varies no less in aspect than in clime;
Mark well the difference, and let each be seen
Of various age, complexion, hair, and mien.
[s] Yet to each separate form adapt with care
Such limbs, such robes, such attitude and air,
As best befit the head, and best combine
To make one whole, one uniform design:
[t] Learn action from the dumb; the dumb shall teach
How happiest to supply the want of speech.
[u] Fair in the front, in all the blaze of light,
The hero of thy piece should meet the sight.

Nam Geometralem nunquam sunt corpora juxta
Mensuram depicta oculis, sed qualia visa.
[x] Non eadem formæ species, non omnibus ætas
Æqualis, similesque color, crinesque figuris:
Nam, variis velut orta plagis, gens dispare vultu est.
[y] Singula membra, suo capiti conformia, fiant
Unum idemque simul corpus cum vestibus ipsis:
[z] Mutorumque silens positura imitabitur actus.
[a] Prima figurarum, seu princeps dramatis, ultrò
Prosiliat media in tabula, sub lumine primo

[r] VIII. Variety in the figures.
[s] IX. Conformity of the limbs and drapery of the head.
[t] X. Action of the mutes to be imitated.
[u] XI. The principal figure.
[x] VIII. Varietas in figuris
[y] IX. Figura sit una membris et vestibus.
[z] X. Mutorum actiones imitandæ.
[a] XI. Figura princeps.

Supreme in beauty: lavish here thine art,
And bid him boldly from the canvass start:
[b] While round that sov'reign form th' inferior train
In groups collected fill the pictur'd plain;
Fill, but not crowd; for oft some open space
Must part their ranks and leave a vacant place,
Lest artlessly dispers'd the sever'd crew
At random rush on our bewilder'd view;
Or parts with parts, in thick confusion bound,
Spread a tumultuous chaos o'er the ground.
[c] In every figur'd group the judging eye
Demands the charms of contrariety:
In forms, in attitudes, expects to trace
Distinct inflections, and contrasted grace,
Where art diversely leads each changeful line,
Opposes, breaks, divides the whole design:

Pulchrior ante alias, reliquis nec operta figuris.
[d] Agglomerata simul sint membra, ipsæque figuræ?
Stipentur, circumque globos locus usque vacabit;
Nè, malè dispersis dum visus ubique figuris
Dividitur, cunctisque operis fervente tumultu
Partibus implicitis, crepitans confusio surgat.
[e] Inque figurarum cumulis non omnibus idem
Corporis inflexus, motusque; vel artubus omnes
Conversis pariter non connitantur eodem;

[b] XII. Groups of figures.

[c] XIII. Diversity of Attitude in Groups.

[d] XII. Figurarum globi seu cumuli.

[e] XIII. Positurarum diversitas in cumul .

Thus, when the rest in front their charms display,
Let one with face averted turn away;
Shoulders oppose to breasts, and left to right,
With parts that meet and parts that shun the sight.
This rule in practice uniformly true
Extends alike to many forms or few,
[f] Yet keep thro' all the piece a perfect poize:
If here in frequent troops the figures rise,
There let some object tower with equal pride;
And so arrange each correspondent side,
That, thro' the well-connected plan, appear
No cold vacuity, no desert drear.

Sed quædam in diversa trahant contraria membra,
Transverséque aliis pugnant, et cætera frangant.
Pluribus adversis aversam oppone figuram,
Pectoribusque humeros, et dextera membra sinistris,
Seu multis constabit opus, paucisve figuris.
[g] Altera pars tabulæ vacuo neu frigida campo,
Aut deserta siet, dum pluribus altera formis
Fervida mole sua supremam exsurgit ad oram.
Sed tibi sic positis respondeat utraque rebus,
Ut si aliquid sursum se parte attollat in unâ,
Sic aliquid parte ex aliâ consurgat, et ambas
Æquiparet, geminas cumulando æqualiter oras.

[f] XIV. A balance to be kept in the picture.

[g] XIV. Tabulæ librámentum.

[h] Say, does the Poet glow with genuine rage,
Who crouds with pomp and noise his bustling stage?
Devoid alike of taste that Painter deem,
Whose flutt'ring works with num'rous figures teem;
A task so various how shall art fulfill,
When oft the simplest forms elude our skill?
But, did the toil succeed, we still should lose
That solemn majesty, that soft repose,
Dear to the curious eye, and only found,
Where few fair objects fill an ample ground.
Yet if some grand important theme demand
Of many needful forms a busy band,
Judgment will so the several groups unite,
That one compacted whole shall meet the sight.

[i] Pluribus implicitum personis drama supremo
In genere, ut rarum est, multis ita densa figuris
Rarior est tabula excellens; vel adhuc ferè nulla
Præstitit in multis, quod vix bene præstat in unâ:
Quippe solet rerum nimio dispersa tumultu,
Majestate carere gravi, requieque decora;
Nec speciosa nitet, vacuo nisi libera campo.
Sed, si opere in magno, plures thema grande requirat
Esse figurarum cumulos, spectabitur unà
Machina tota rei; non singula quæque seorsim.

[h] XV. Of the number of figures.

[i] XV. Numerus figurarum.

[k] The joints in each extreme distinctly treat,
Nor e'er conceal the outline of the feet;
[l] The hands alike demand to be exprest
In half-shown figures rang'd behind the rest;
Nor can such forms with force or beauty shine,
Save when the head and hands in action join.
[m] Each air constrain'd and forc'd, each gesture rude,
Whate'er contracts or cramps the attitude,
With scorn discard. When squares or angles join,
When flows in tedious parallel the line,
Acute, obtuse, whene'er the shapes appear,
Or take a formal geometric air,

[n] Præcipua extremis raro internodia membris
Abdita sint; sed summa pedum vestigia nunquam.
[o] Gratia nulla manet, motusque, vigorque figuras
Retro aliis subter majori ex parte latentes,
Ni capitis motum manibus comitentur agendo.
[p] Difficiles fugito aspectus, contractaque visu
Membra sub ingrato, motusque, actusque coactos;
Quodque refert signis, rectos quodammodo tractus,
Sive parallelos plures simul, et vel acutas,
Vel geometrales (ut quadra, triangula) formas;

[k] XVI. The joints of the feet.
[l] XVII. The motion of the hands with the head.
[m] XVIII. What things are to be avoided in the Distribution of the Piece.
[n] XVI. Internodia et pedes.
[o] XVII. Motus manuum motui capitis jungendus.
[p] XVIII. Quæ fugienda in distributione et compositione.

These all displease, and the disgusted eye
Nauseates the tame and irksome symmetry.
Mark then our former rule;* with contrast strong
And mode transverse the leading lines prolong;
For these in each design, if well exprest,
Give value, force, and lustre to the rest.
[q] Nor yet to Nature such strict homage pay,
As not to quit when Genius leads the way;
Nor yet tho' Genius all his succour sends,
Her mimic powers tho' ready Memory lends,
Presume from Nature wholly to depart,
For nature is the arbitress of art.
In Error's grove ten thousand thickets spread,
Ten thousand devious paths our steps mislead;

Ingratamque pari signorum ex ordine quandam
Symmetriam: sed præcipua in contraria semper
Signa volunt duci transversa, ut diximus antè.*
Summa igitur ratio signorum habeatur in omni
Composito; dat enim reliquis pretium, atque vigorem.
[r] Non ita naturæ astanti sis cuique revinctus,
Hanc præter nihil ut genio studioque relinquas;
Nec sine teste rei natura, artisque magistra,
Quidlibet ingenio, memor ut tantummodo rerum,
Pingere posse putes; errorum est plurima sylva,

* Page 35, Rule xiii.

[q] XIX. Nature to be accommodated to Genius.

[r] XIX. Natura Genio accommodanda.

Mid curves, that vary in perpetual twine,
Truth owns but one direct and perfect line.
[1] Spread then her genuine charms o'er all the piece,
Sublime and perfect as they glow'd in Greece.
Those genuine charms to seize, with zeal explore
The vases, medals, statues, form'd of yore,
Relievos high that swell the column's stem,
Speak from the marble, sparkle from the gem;
Hence all-majestic on th' expanding soul,
In copious tide the bright ideas roll;
Fill it with radiant forms unknown before,
Forms such as demigods and heroes wore:
Here pause and pity our enervate days,
Hopeless to rival their transcendent praise.

Multiplicesque viæ, bene agendi terminus unus,
Linea recta velut sola est, et mille recurvæ.
[1] Sed juxta antiquos naturam imitabere pulchram,
Qualem forma rei propria, objectumque requirit.
Non te igitur lateant antiqua numismata, gemmæ,
Vasa, typi, statuæ, cælataque marmora signis,
Quodque refert specie veterum post sæcula mentem;
Splendidior quippe ex illis assurgit imago,
Magnaque se rerum facies aperit meditanti:
Tunc nostri tenuem sæcli miserebere sortem,
Cùm spes nulla siet redituræ æqualis in ævum.

[1] XX. The Antique the model to be copied.

[1] XX. Signa antiqua Naturæ modum constituunt.

[w] Peculiar toil on single forms bestow,
There let expression lend its finish'd glow;
There each variety of tint unite
With the full harmony of shade and light.
[x] Free o'er the limbs the flowing vesture cast,
The light broad folds with grace majestic placed;
And as each figure turns a different way,
Give the large plaits their corresponding play;
Yet devious oft and swelling from the part,
The flowing robe with ease should seem to start;
Not on the form in stiff adhesion laid,
But well reliev'd by gentle light and shade.
Where'er a flat vacuity is seen,
There let some shadowy bending intervene,

[y] Exquisita siet formâ, dum sola figura
Pingitur; et multis variata coloribus esto.
[x] Lati, amplique sinus pannorum, et nobilis ordo
Membra sequens, subter latitantia lumine et umbrâ
Exprimet; ille licet transversus sæpe feratur,
Et circumfusos pannorum porrigat extra
Membra sinus, non contiguos, ipsisque figuræ
Partibus impressos, quasi pannus adhæreat illis;
Sed modicè expressos cum lumine servet et umbris:
Quæque intermissis passim sunt dissita vanis,
Copulet, inductis subtérve, supérve lacernis.

[w] XXI. How to paint a single figure.
[x] XXII. Of Drapery.
[y] XXI. Sola Figura quomodo tractanda.
[x] XXII. Quid in Pannis observandum.

Above, below, to lead its varied line,
As best may teach the distant folds to join;
And as the limbs by few bold strokes exprest
Excel in beauty, so the liberal vest
In large, distinct, unwrinkled folds should fly,
Beauty's best handmaid is Simplicity.
To different ranks adapt their proper robe;
With ample pall let monarchs sweep the globe;
In garb succinct and coarse array the swain;
In light and silken veils the virgin train.
Where in black shade the deeper hollow lies,
Assisting art some midway fold supplies,
That gently meets the light, and gently spreads
To break the hardness of opposing shades.
[a] Each nobler symbol classic sages use,
To mark a virtue, or adorn a Muse.

Et membra, ut magnis, paucisque expressa lacertis,
Majestate aliis præstant, forma, atque decore:
Haud secus in pannis, quos supra optavimus amplos,
Perpaucos sinuum flexus, rugasque, strinsque,
Membra super, versu faciles, inducere præstat.
Naturæque rei proprius sit pannus, abundans
Patriciis; succinctus erit, crassusque bubulcis,
Mancipiisque; levis, teneris, gracilisque puellis.
Inque cavis maculisque umbrarum aliquando tumescet,
Lumen ut excipiens, operis quà massa requirit,
Latius extendat, sublatisque aggreget umbris.
[b] Nobilia arma juvant Virtutum ornantque figuras,

[a] XXIII. Of Picturesque Ornament.

[b] XXIII. Tabulæ Ornamentum.

Ensigns of war, of peace, or rites divine,
These in thy work with dignity may shine:
[c] But sparingly thy earth-born stores unfold,
Nor load with gems, nor lace with tawdry gold;
Rare things alone are dear in Custom's eye,
They lose their value as they multiply.
[d] Of absent forms the features to define,
Prepare a model to direct thy line;
[e] Each garb, each custom, with precision trace,
Unite in strict decorum time with place;
[f] And emulous alone of genuine fame,
Be Grace, be Majesty thy constant aim,
That Majesty, that Grace so rarely given
To mortal man, nor taught by art but Heaven.

Qualia Musarum, Belli, cultusque Deorum.
[g] Nec sit opus nimiùm gemmis auroque refertum;
Rara etenim magno in pretio, sed plurima vili.
[h] Quæ deinde ex vero nequeant præsente videri,
Prototypum prius illorum formare juvabit.
[i] Conveniat locus, atque habitus; ritusque decusque
[k] Servetur: Sit nobilitas, Charitumque venustas,
(Rarum homini munus, Cœlo, non arte petendum.)

[c] XXIV. Ornament of gold and jewels.
[d] XXV. Of the Model.
[e] XXVI. Union of the piece.
[f] XXVII. Grace and Majesty.
[g] XXIV. Ornamentum auri et gemmarum.
[h] XXV. Prototypus.
[i] XXVI. Convenientia rerum cum scena.
[k] XXVII. Charitas et Nobilitas.

[l] In all to sage propriety attend,
Nor sink the clouds, nor bid the waves ascend;
Lift not the mansions drear of Hell or Night
Above the Thunderer's lofty arch of light;
Nor build the column on an osier base;
But let each object know its native place.
[m] Thy last, thy noblest task remains untold,
Passion to paint, and sentiment unfold;
Yet how these motions of the mind display!
Can colours catch them, or can lines pourtray?
Who shall our pigmy pencils arm with might
To seize the soul, and force her into sight?
Jove, Jove alone; his highly-favour'd few
Alone can call such miracles to view.

[n] Naturæ sit ubique tenor, ratioque sequenda.
Non vicina pedum tabulata excelsa Tonantis
Astra domus depicta gerent, nubesque, notosque;
Nec mare depressum laquearia summa, vel Orcum;
Marmoreamque feret cannis vaga pergula molem:
Congrua sed propriâ semper statione locentur.
[o] Hæc præter, motus animorum, et corde repostos
Exprimere affectus, paucisque coloribus ipsam
Pingere posse animam, atque oculis præbere videndam,
" *Hoc opus, hic labor est. Pauci, quos æquus amavit*
" *Jupiter, aut ardens evexit ad æthera virtus,*
" *Dis similes potuere*" manu miracula tanta.

[l] XXVIII. Every thing in its proper place.
[n] XXVIII. Res quæque locum suum teneat.
[m] XXIX. The Passions.
[o] XXIX. Affectus.

But this to rhet'ric and the schools I leave,
Content from ancient lore one rule to give:
" By tedious toil no passions are exprest,
" His hand who feels them strongest paints them best."
[p] Yet shall the Muse with all her force proscribe,
Of base and barbarous forms that Gothic tribe,
Which sprung to birth, what time, thro' lust of sway,
Imperial Latium bade the world obey:
Fierce from the north the headlong demons flew,
The wreaths of science wither'd at their view;
Plagues were their harbingers, and war accurst,
And luxury, of every fiend the worst:
Then did each Muse behold her triumphs fade,
Then pensive Painting droop'd the languish'd head;

Hos ego rhetoribus tractandos desero; tantùm
Egregii antiquum memorabo sophisma magistri:
" *Verius affectus animi vigor exprimit ardens,*
" *Soliciti nimiùm quam sedula cura laboris.*"
[q] Denique nil sapiat Gothorum barbara trito
Ornamenta modo, sæclorum et monstra malorum:
Queis ubi bella, famem, et pestem, discordia, luxus,
Et Romanorum res grandior intulit orbi,
Ingenuæ periere artes, periere superbæ
Artificum moles; sua tunc miracula vidit
Ignibus absumi Pictura, latere coacta

[p] XXX. Gothic ornament to be avoided.

[q] XXX. Gothorum ornamenta fugienda.

And sorrowing Sculpture, while the ruthless flame
Involv'd each trophy of her Sister's fame,
Fled to sepulchral cells her own to save,
And lurk'd a patient inmate of the grave.
Meanwhile beneath the frown of angry Heaven,
Unworthy every boon its smile had given,
Involv'd in Error's cloud, and scorn'd of light,
The guilty empire sunk. Then horrid Night,
And Dulness drear their murky vigils kept,
In savage gloom the impious Ages slept,
Till Genius, starting from his rugged bed,
Full late awoke, the ceaseless tear to shed
For perish'd Art; for those celestial hues,
Which Zeuxis, aided by the Attic Muse,
[r] Gave to the wond'ring eye: she bade his name
With thine, Apelles, gild the lists of fame;

Fornicibus, sortem et reliquam confidere cryptis;
Marmoribusque diu Sculptura jacere sepultis.
Imperium interea, scelerum gravitate fatiscens,
Horrida nox totum invasit, donoque superni
Luminis indignum, errorum caligine mersit,
Impiaque ignaris damnavit sæcla tenebris.
Unde coloratum Graiis huc usque magistris
Nil superest tantorum hominum, quod mente modoque
Nostrates juvet artifices, doceatque laborem;
[s] Nec qui Chromaticês nobis, hoc tempore, partes
Restituat, quales Zeuxis tractaverat olim,
Hujus quando magâ velut arte æquavit Apellem

[r] Colouring the third Part of Painting.

[s] Chromaticæ tertia Pars Picturæ.

With thine to colouring's brightest glories soar,
The gods applaud him, and the world adore.
  Alas! how lost those magic mixtures all!
No hues of this now animate the wall;
How then shall modern art those hues apply,
How give design its finish'd dignity?
Return, fair COLOURING! all thy lures prepare,
Each safe deception, every honest snare,
Which brings new lovers to thy sister's train,
Skilful at once to charm, and to retain;
Come, faithful Siren! chaste seducer! say,
What laws control thee, and what powers obey.
  Know first, that light displays and shade destroys
Refulgent Nature's variegated dyes.
  Thus bodies near the light distinctly shine
With rays direct, and as it fades decline.

Pictorum archigraphum, meruitque coloribus altam
Nominis æterni famam, toto orbe sonantem.
Hæc quidem ut in tabulis fallax, sed grata venustas,
Et complementum graphidos, mirabile visu,
Pulchra vocabatur, sed subdola, lena sororis:
Non tamen hoc lenocinium, fucusque, dolusque
Dedecori fuit unquam; illi sed semper honori,
Laudibus et meritis; hanc ergo nosse juvabit.
  Lux varium, vivumque dabit, nullum umbra, colorem.
  Quo magis adversum est corpus, lucique propinquum,
Clarius est lumen; nam debilitatur eundo.

Thus to the eye oppos'd with stronger light
They meet its orb, for distance dims the sight.
[t] Learn hence to paint the parts that meet the view
In spheric forms, of bright and equal hue;
While, from the light receding or the eye,
The sinking outlines take a fainter dye.
Lost and confus'd progressively they fade,
Not fall precipitate from light to shade.
This Nature dictates, and this Taste pursues,
Studious in gradual gloom her lights to lose;
The various whole with soft'ning tints to fill,
As if one single head employ'd her skill.
Thus, if bold Fancy plan some proud design,
Where many various groups divide or join,
(Tho' sure from more than three confusion springs,)
One globe of light and shade o'er all she flings;

Quo magis est corpus directum, oculisque propinquum.
Conspicitur melius; nam visus hebescit eundo.
[u] Ergo in corporibus, quæ visa adversa, rotundis,
Integra sunt, extrema abscedant perdita signis
Confusis, non præcipiti labentur in umbram
Clara gradu, nec adumbrata in clara alta repentè
Prorumpant; sed erit sensim hinc atque inde meatus
Lucis et umbrarum; capitisque unius ad instar,
Totum opus, ex multis quanquam sit partibus, unus
Luminis umbrarumque globus tantummodo fiet,

[t] XXXI. The conduct of the Tints of Light and Shadow.

[u] XXXI. Tonorum Luminum et Umbrarum ratio.

Yet skill'd the separate masses to dispose,
Where'er, in front, the fuller radiance glows,
Behind, a calm reposing gloom she spreads,
Relieving shades with light, and light with shades.
And as the centre of some convex glass
Draws to a point the congregated mass
Of dazzling rays, that, more than nature bright,
Reflect each image in an orb of light,
While from that point the scatter'd beams retire,
Sink to the verge, and there in shade expire;
So strongly near, so softly distant throw
On all thy rounded groups the circling glow.
As is the Sculptor's, such the Painter's aim,
Their labour different, but their end the same;

Sive duas, vel tres ad summum, ubi grandius esset
Divisum pegma in partes statione remotas.
Sintque ita discreti inter se, ratione colorum,
Luminis, umbrarumque, antrorsum ut corpora clara
Obscura umbrarum requies spectanda relinquat;
Claroque exiliant umbrata atque aspera campo.
Ac veluti in speculis convexis, eminet ante
Asperior reipsâ vigor, et vis aucta colorum
Partibus adversis; magis et fuga rupta retrorsum
Illorum est, (ut visa minùs vergentibus oris,)
Corporibus dabimus formas hoc more rotundas.
Mente modoque igitur plastes, et pictor, eodem
Dispositum tractabit opus; quæ sculptor in orbem

What from the marble the rude chissel breaks,
The softer pencil from the canvass takes:
And, skill'd remoter distances to keep,
Surrounds the outline pale in shadows deep;
While on the front the sparkling lustre plays,
And meets the eye in full meridian blaze.
True Colouring thus, in plastic power excels,
Fair to the visual point her forms she swells,
And lifts them from their flat aërial ground
Warm as the life, and as the statue round.
[x] In silver clouds, in ether's blue domain,
Or the clear mirror of the wat'ry plain,
If chance some solid substance claim a place,
Firm and opaque amid the lucid space,

Atterit, hæc rupto procul abscedente colore
Assequitur pictor, fugientiaque illa retrorsum
Jam signata minùs confusa coloribus aufert:
Anteriora quidem directè adversa, colore
Integra vivaci summo cum lumine et umbra
Antrorsum distincta refert, velut aspera visu;
Sicque super planum inducit leucoma colores,
Hos velut ex ipsâ naturâ immotus eodem
Intuitu circum statuas daret inde rotundas.
[y] Densa figurarum solidis quæ corpora formis
Subdita sunt tactu, non translucent, sed opaca
In translucendi spatio, ut super aëra, nubes,
Limpida stagna undarum, et inania cætera debent

[x] XXXII. Dense and opaque bodies with translucent ones.

[y] XXXII. Corpora densa et opaca translucentibus.

Rough let it swell and boldly meet the sight,
Mark'd with peculiar strength of shade and light;
There blend each earthly tint of heaviest sort,
At once to give consistence and support,
While the bright wave, soft cloud, or azure sky,
Light and pellucid from that substance fly.
[z] Permit not two conspicuous lights to shine
With rival radiance in the same design;
But yield to one alone the power to blaze,
And spread the extensive vigour of its rays,
There where the noblest figures are display'd;
Thence gild the distant parts, and lessening fade:

Asperiora illis prope circumstantibus esse;
Ut distincta magis firmo cum lumine et umbra,
Et gravioribus ut sustenta coloribus, inter
Aërias species subsistant semper opaca:
Sed contra, procul abscedant perlucida densis
Corporibus leviora; uti nubes, aër, et undæ.
[a] Non poterunt diversa locis duo lumina eâdem
In tabulâ paria admitti, aut æqualia pingi:
Majus at in mediam lumen cadet usque tabellam
Latius infusum, primis qua summa figuris
Res agitur, circumque oras minuetur eundo:

[z] XXXIII. There must not be two equal lights in the picture.

[a] XXXIII. Non duo ex cœlo lumina in tabulam æqualia.

As fade the beams which Phœbus from the east
Flings vivid forth to light the distant west,
Gradual those vivid beams forget to shine,
So gradual let thy pictur'd lights decline.
The sculptor'd forms which some proud Circus grace,
In Parian marble or Corinthian brass,
Illumin'd thus, give to the gazing eye
Th' expressive head in radiant majesty,
While to each lower limb the fainter ray
Lends only light to mark, but not display:
So let thy pencil fling its beams around,
Nor e'er with darker shades their force confound.
For shades too dark, dissever'd shapes will give,
And sink the parts their softness would relieve:
Then only well reliev'd, when like a veil
Round the full lights the wand'ring shadows steal;

Utque in progressu jubar attenuatur ab ortu
Solis, ad occasum paulatim, et cessat eundo;
Sic tabulis lumen, tota in compage colorum,
Primo à fonte minus sensim declinat eundo.
Majus ut in statuis, per compita stantibus urbis,
Lumen habent partes superæ, minus inferiores;
Idem erit in tabulis; majorque nec umbra, vel ater
Membra figurarum intrabit color atque secabit:
Corpora sed circum umbra cavis latitabit oberrans;

Then only justly spread, when to the sight
A breadth of shade pursues a breadth of light.
This charm to give, great Titian wisely made
The cluster'd grapes his rule of light and shade.
[b] White, when it shines with unstain'd lustre clear,
May bear an object back, or bring it near;
Aided by black, it to the front aspires,
That aid withdrawn, it distantly retires;
But black unmix'd, of darkest midnight hue,
Still calls each object nearer to the view.
[c] Whate'er we spy thro' colour'd light or air,
A stain congenial on their surface bear,
While neighb'ring forms by joint reflection give
And mutual take the dyes that they receive.

Atquè ita quæretur lux opportuna figuris,
Ut late infusum lumen lata umbra sequatur.
Unde, nec immeritò, fertur Titianus ubique
Lucis et umbrarum normam appellâsse *racemum*.
[d] Purum album esse potest propiusque magisque remotum:
Cum nigro antevenit propiùs; fugit absque remotum;
Purum autem nigrum antrorsum venit usque propinquum.
Lux fucata suo tingit miscetque colore
Corpora, sicque suo, per quem lux funditur, aër.
[e] Corpora juncta simul, circumfusosque colores
Excipiunt, propriumque aliis radiosa reflectunt.

[b] XXXIV. Of white and black.
[c] XXXV. The reflection of colours.
[d] XXXIV. Album et nigrum.
[e] XXXV. Colorum reflectio.

[f] But where on both alike one equal light
Diffusive spreads, the blending tints unite.
For *breaking* colours thus (the ancient phrase
By Artists used) fair Venice claims our praise:
She, cautious to transgress so sage a rule,
Confin'd to soberest tints her learned school;
For tho' she lov'd by varied mode to join
Tumultuous crowds in one immense design,
Yet there we ne'er condemn such hostile hues
As cut the parts or glaringly confuse;
In tinsel trim no foppish form is drest,
Still flows in graceful unity the vest;
And o'er that vest a kindred mantle spreads,
Unvaried but by power of lights and shades,

[s] Pluribus in solidis liquidâ sub luce propinquis,
Participes, mixtosque simul decet esse colores.
Hanc normam Veneti pictores ritè sequuti,
(Quæ fuit antiquis *corruptio* dicta *colorum*,)
Cùm plures opere in magno posuêre figuras,
Nè conjuncta simul variorum inimica colorum
Congeries formam implicitam, et concisa minutis
Membra daret pannis, totam unamquamque figuram
Affini, aut uno tantùm vestire colore,
Sunt soliti; variando tonis tunicamque, togamque,

[f] XXXVI. The union of colours.

[s] XXXVI. Unio colorum.

Which mildly mixing every social dye,
Unites the whole in loveliest harmony.
[h] When small the space, or pure the ambient air,
Each form is seen in bright precision clear;
But if thick clouds that purity deface,
If far extend that intervening space,
There all confus'd the objects faintly rise,
As if prepar'd to vanish from our eyes.
[i] Give then each foremost part a touch so bright,
That, o'er the rest, its domineering light
May much prevail; yet, relative in all,
Let greater parts advance before the small.

Carbaseosque sinus, vel amicum in lumine et umbra
Contiguis circum rebus sociando colorem.
[k] Qua minus est spatii aërei, aut quà purior aër,
Cuncta magis distincta patent, speciesque reservant:
Quàque magis densus nebulis, aut plurimus aër
[l] Amplum inter fuerit spatium porrectus, in auras
Confundet rerum species, et perdet inanes.
Anteriora magis semper finita, remotis
Incertis dominentur et abscedentibus, idque
More relativo, ut majora minoribus extent.

[h] XXXVII. Of the interposition of air.
[i] XXXVIII. The relation of distances.
[k] XXXVII. Aër interpositus.
[l] XXXVIII. Distantiarum relatio.

[m] Minuter forms, when distantly we trace,
Are mingled all in one compacted mass;
Such the light leaves that clothe remoter woods,
And such the waves on wide-extended floods.
[n] Let each contiguous part be firm allied,
Nor labour less the separate to divide;
Yet so divide that to th' approving eye
They both at small and pleasing distance lie.
[o] Forbid two hostile colours close to meet,
And win with middle tints their union sweet;
Yet varying all thy tones, let some aspire
[p] Fiercely in front, some tenderly retire.

[q] Cuncta minuta procul massam densantur in unam;
Ut folia arboribus sylvarum, et in æquore fluctus.
[r] Contigua inter se coëant, sed dissita distent,
Distabuntque tamen grato, et discrimine parvo.
[s] Extrema extremis contraria jungere noli;
Sed medio sint usque gradu sociata coloris.
[t] Corporum erit tonus atque color variatus ubique;
Quærat amicitiam retro; ferus emicet ante.

[m] XXXIX. Of bodies which are distanced.
[n] XL. Of contiguous and separated bodies.
[o] XLI. Colours very opposite to each other never to be joined.
[p] XLII. Diversity of Tints and Colours.
[q] XXXIX. Corpora procul distantia.
[r] XL. Contigua et dissita.
[s] XLI. Contraria extrema fugienda.
[t] XLII. Tonus et Color varii.

[u] Vain is the hope by colouring to display
The bright effulgence of the noon-tide ray,
Or paint the full-orb'd Ruler of the skies
With pencils dipp'd in dull terrestrial dyes:
But when mild Evening sheds her golden light;
When Morn appears array'd in modest white;
When soft suffusion of the vernal shower
Dims the pale Sun; or, at the thund'ring hour,
When, wrapt in crimson clouds, he hides his head,
Then catch the glow, and on the canvass spread.
[x] Bodies of polish'd or transparent tone,
Of metal, crystal, iv'ry, wood, or stone:
And all whose rough unequal parts are rear'd,
The shaggy fleece, thick fur, or bristly beard;
The liquid too; the sadly melting eye,
The well-comb'd locks that wave with glossy dye;

[y] Supremum in tabulis lumen captare diei,
Insanus labor artificum; cum attingere tantum
Non pigmenta queant; auream sed vespere lucem,
Seu modicum mane albentem; sive ætheris actam
Post hyemem nimbis transfuso sole caducam;
Seu nebulis fultam accipient, tonitruque rubentem.
[z] Lævia quæ lucent, veluti crystalla, metalla,
Ligna, ossa, et lapides; villosa, ut vellera, pelles,
Barbæ, aqueique oculi, crines, holoserica, plumæ;

[u] XLIII. The Choice of light.
[x] XLIV. Of certain things relating to the practical part.
[y] XLIII. Luminis delectus.
[z] XLIV. Quædam circa praxim.

Plumage and silks; a floating form that take,
Fair Nature's mirrour, the extended lake;
With what immers'd thro' its calm medium shines
By reflex light, or to its surface joins;
These first with thin and even shades portray,
Then, on their flatness strike th'enlivening ray,
Bright and distinct,—and last, with strict review,
Restore to every form its outline true.

[a] By mellowing skill thy ground at distance cast,
Free as the air, and transient as its blast;
There all thy liquid colours sweetly blend,
There all the treasures of thy palette spend,
And every form retiring to that ground
Of hue congenial to itself compound.

[b] The hand that colours well, must colour bright;
Hope not that praise to gain by sickly white;

Et liquida, ut stagnans aqua, reflexæque sub undis
Corporeæ species, et aquis contermina cuncta,
Subter ad extremum liquidè sint picta, superque
Luminibus percussa suis, signisque repostis.

[c] Area, vel campus tabulæ vagus esto, levisque
Abscedat latus, liquidéque bene unctus amicis
Tota ex mole coloribus, unâ sive patellâ;
Quæque cadunt retro in campum, confinia campo.

[d] Vividus esto color, nimio non pallidus albo;

[a] XLV. The Field of the Picture.

[b] XLVI. Of the Vivacity of Colours.

[c] XLV. Campus Tabulæ.

[d] XLVI. Color vividus, non tamen pallidus.

[e] But amply heap in front each splendid dye,
Then thin and light withdraw them from the eye,
[f] Mix'd with that simple unity of shade,
As all were from one single palette spread.
[g] Much will the mirrour teach, or evening grey,
When o'er some ample space her twilight ray
Obscurely gleams; hence Art shall best perceive
On distant parts what fainter hues to give.
[h] Whate'er the form which our first glance commands,
Whether in front or in profile he stands,
Whether he rule the group, or singly reign,
Or shine at distance on some ample plain,
On that high-finish'd form let Paint bestow
Her midnight shadow, her meridian glow.

Adversisque locis ingestus plurimus, ardens:
Sed levitèr parcéque datus vergentibus oris.
[i] Cuncta labore simul coëant, velut umbrâ in eâdem,
[k] Tota siet tabula ex unâ depicta patellâ.
[l] Multa ex natura speculum præclara docebit;
Quæque procul sero spatiis spectantur in amplis.
[m] Dimidia effigies, quæ sola, vel integra plures
Ante alias posita ad lucem, stat proxima visu,
Et latis spectanda locis, oculisque remota,
Luminis umbrarumque gradu sit picta supremo.

[e] XLVII. Of shadows.
[f] XLVIII. The picture to be of one piece.
[g] XLIX. The Looking-glass the Painter's best master.
[h] L. A half Figure or a whole one before others.
[i] XLVII. Umbra.
[k] XLVIII. Ex una patella sit tabula.
[l] XLIX. Speculum Pictorum Magister.
[m] L. Dimidia Figura, vel integra, ante alias.

[s] The portrait claims from imitative art
Resemblance close in each minuter part,
And this to give, the ready hand and eye
With playful skill the kindred features ply;
From part to part alternately convey
The harmonizing gloom, the darting ray,
With tones so just, in such gradation thrown,
Adopting Nature owns the work her own.
[t] Say, is the piece thy hand prepares to trace
Ordain'd for nearer sight, or narrow space?
Paint it of soft and amicable hue:
But if predestin'd to remoter view,
Thy strong unequal varied colours blend;
And ample space to ample figures lend,
[u] Where to broad lights the circumambient shade
In liquid play by labour just is laid;

[q] Partibus in minimis imitatio justa juvabit
Effigiem, alternas referendo tempore eodem
Consimiles partes, cum luminis atque coloris
Compositis, justisque tonis; tunc parta labore
Si facili et vegeto micat ardens, viva videtur.
[r] Visa loco angusto tenerè pingantur, amico
Juncta colore, graduque; procul quæ picta, feroci
Sint et inæquali variata colore tonoque.
Grandia signa volunt spatia ampla, ferosque colores.
[s] Lumina lata, unctas simul undique copulet umbras

[s] LI. A Portrait.
[t] LII. The place of the Picture.
[u] LIII. Large lights.
[q] LI. Effigies.
[r] LII. Locus Tabulæ.
[s] LIII. Lumina lata.

Alike with liveliest touch the forms portray,
Where the dim window half excludes the day;
But, when expos'd in fuller light or air,
A brown and sober cast the group may bear.
[a] Fly every foe to elegance and grace,
Each yawning hollow, each divided space;
Whate'er is trite, minute, abrupt, or dry,
Where light meets shade in flat equality;
Each theme fantastic, filthy, vile, or vain,
That gives the soul disgust or senses pain;
Monsters of barbarous birth, Chimeras drear,
That pall with ugliness, or awe with fear.

[x] Extremus labor. In tabulas demissa fenestris
Si fuerit lux parva, color clarissimus esto:
Vividus at contra, obscurusque, in lumine aperto.
[y] Quæ vacuis divisa cavis, vitare memento;
Trita, minuta, simul quæ non stipata dehiscunt,
Barbara, cruda oculis, rugis fucata colorum;
Luminis umbrarumque tonis æqualia cuncta;
Fœda, cruenta, cruces, obscœna, ingrata, chimeras,
Sordidaque et misera, et vel acuta, vel aspera tactu;

[a] LIV. The quantity of light and shade to be adapted to the place of the Picture.

[b] LV. Things which are disagreeable in painting to be avoided.

[x] LIV. Quantitas luminis loci in quo Tabula est exponenda.

[y] LV. Errores et vitia Picturæ.

And all that chaos of sharp broken parts,
Where reigns confusion, or whence discord starts.
[a] Yet hear me, Youths! while zealous ye forsake
Detected faults, this friendly caution take,—
Shun all excess; and with true wisdom deem,
That vice alike resides in each extreme.
[a] Know, if supreme perfection be your aim,
If classic praise your pencil hope to claim,
Your noble outlines must be chaste, yet free,
Connected all with studied harmony:
Few in their parts, yet those distinct and great;
Your Colouring boldly strong, yet softly sweet.
[b] Know, he that well begins has half achiev'd
His destin'd work. Yet late shall be retriev'd

Quæque dabunt formæ, temerè congesta, ruinam,
Implicitas aliis confundent mixtaque partes.
[c] Dumque fugis vitiosa, cave in contraria labi
Damna mali; vitium extremis nam semper inhæret.
[d] Pulchra gradu summo, graphidos stabilita vetustæ
Nobilibus signis, sunt grandia, dissita, pura,
Tersa, velut minimè confusa, labore ligata,
Partibus ex magnis paucisque efficta, colorum
Corporibus distincta feris, sed semper amicis.
[e] Qui bene cœpit, uti facti jam fertur habere

[a] LVI. The prudential part of a Painter.
[a] LVII. The idea of a beautiful Picture.
[b] LVIII. Advice to a young Painter.
[c] LVI. Prudentia in Pictore.
[d] LVII. Elegantium Idæa Tabularum.
[e] LVIII. Pictor tyro.

That time mis-spent, that labour worse than lost,
The young disciple, to his dearest cost,
Gives to a dull preceptor's tame designs;
His tawdry colours, his erroneous lines,
Will to the soul that poison rank convey,
Which life's best length shall fail to purge away.
  Yet let not your untutor'd childhood strive
Of Nature's living charms the sketch to give,
Till, skill'd her separate features to design,
You know each muscle's site, and how they join.
These while beneath some master's eye you trace,
Vers'd in the lore of symmetry and grace,
Boldly proceed: his precepts shall impart
Each sweet deception of the pleasing art:
Still more than precept shall his practice teach,
And add what self-reflection ne'er can reach.

Dimidium; picturam ita nil sub limine primo
Ingrediens, puer offendit damnosius arti,
Quàm varia errorum genera, ignorante magistro,
Ex pravis libare *typis*, mentemque veneno
Inficere, in toto quod non abstergitur ævo.
  Nec graphidos rudis artis adhuc cito qualiacunque
Corpora viva super studium meditabitur, ante
Illorum quàm symmetriam, internodia, formam
Noverit, inspectis, docto evolvente magistro,
Archetypis, dulcesque dolos præsenserit artis.
Plusque manu ante oculos quam voce docebitur usus.

[f] Oft, when alone, the studious hour employ
On what may aid your art, and what destroy;
[g] Diversity of parts is sure to please,
If all the various parts unite with ease;
As surely charms that voluntary style,
Which careless plays, and seems to mock at toil;
For labour'd lines with cold exactness tire,
'Tis freedom only gives the force and fire
Etherial; she, with alchymy divine,
Brightens each touch, ennobles every line;
Yet pains and practice only can bestow
This facile power of hand, whose liberal flow
With grateful fraud its own exertions veils;
He best employs his art who best conceals.

[h] Quære artem quæcunque juvant; fuge quæque repugnant.
[i] Corpora diversæ naturæ juncta placebunt;
Sic ea quæ facili contempta labore videntur:
Ætherеus quippe ignis inest et spiritus illis;
Mente diu versata, manu celeranda repenti.
Arsque laborque operis grata sic fraude latebit:
Maxima deinde erit ars, nihil artis inesse videri.

[f] LIX. Art must be subservient to the Painter.
[g] LX. Diversity and facility are pleasing.
[h] LIX. Ars debet servire Pictori, non Pictor Arti.
[i] LX. Oculos recreant diversitas et operis facilitas, quæ speciatim Ars dicitur.

[k] This to obtain, let taste with judgment join'd
The future whole infix upon thy mind;
Be there each line in truth ideal drawn,
Or ere a colour on the canvass dawn;
Then as the work proceeds, that work submit
To sight instinctive, not to doubting wit;
The eye each obvious error swift descries,
Hold then the compass only in the eyes.
[m] Give to the dictates of the learn'd respect,
Nor proudly untaught sentiments reject,
Severe to self alone: for self is blind,
And deems each merit in its offspring join'd:
Such fond delusion time can best remove,
Concealing for a while the child we love:

[n] Nec prius inducas tabulæ pigmenta colorum,
Expensi quàm signa typi stabilita nitescant,
Et menti præsens operis sit pegma futuri.
[o] Prævaleat sensus rationi, quæ officit arti
Conspicuæ; inque oculis tantummodo circinus esto.
[p] Utere doctorum monitis, nec sperne superbus
Discere, quæ de te fuerit sententia vulgi:
Est cœcus nam quisque suis in rebus, et expers
Judicii, prolemque suam miratur amatque.

[k] LXI. The Original must be in the head, and the Copy on the cloth.

[l] LXII. The Compass to be in the eyes.

[m] LXIII. Pride an enemy to good painting.

[n] LXI. Archetypus in mente, Apographus in tela.

[o] LXII. Circinus in oculis.

[p] LXIII. Superbia pictori nocet plurimum.

By absence then the eye impartial grown,
Will, tho' no friend assist, each error own;
But these subdued, let thy determin'd mind
Veer not with every critic's veering wind,
Or e'er submit thy genius to the rules
Of prating fops, or self-important fools;
Enough if from the learn'd applause be won;
Who doat on random praises, merit none.
[q] By Nature's sympathetic power, we see,
As is the parent, such the progeny:
Ev'n Artists, bound by their instinctive law,
In all their works their own resemblance draw:
Learn then "to know thyself;" that precept sage
Shall best allay luxuriant Fancy's rage;
Shall point how far indulgent Genius deigns
To aid her flight, and to what point restrains.

Ast ubi consilium deerit sapientis amici,
Id tempus dabit, atque mora intermissa labori.
Non facilis tamen ad nutus, et inania vulgi
Dicta, levis mutabis opus, geniumque relinques:
Nam qui parte sua sperat bene posse mereri
Multivaga de plebe, nocet sibi, nec placet ulli.
[r] Cumque opere in proprio soleat se pingere pictor,
(Prolem adeo sibi ferre parem natura suevit,)
Proderit imprimis pictori γνῶθι σεαυτόν,
Ut data quæ genio colat, abstineatque negatis.

[q] LXIV. Know thyself. [r] LXIV. Nosce teipsum.

But as the blushing fruits, the breathing flowers,
Adorning Flora's and Pomona's bowers,
When forcing fires command their buds to swell,
Refuse their dulcet taste, their balmy smell;
So Labour's vain extortion ne'er achieves
That grace supreme which willing Genius gives.
[s] Thus tho' to pains and practice much we owe,
Tho' thence each line obtains its easy flow,
Yet let those pains, that practice, ne'er be join'd,
To blunt the native vigour of the mind.
[t] When shines the morn, when in recruited course
The spirits flow, devote their active force
To every nicer part of thy design,
[u] But pass no idle day without a line:

Fructibus utque suus nunquam est sapor, atque venustas
Floribus, insueto in fundo, præcoce sub anni
Tempore, quos cultus violentus et ignis adegit:
Sic nunquam, nimio quæ sunt extorta labore,
Et picta invito genio, nunquam illa placebunt.
[x] Vera super meditando, manûs labor improbus adsit;
Nec tamen obtundat genium, mentisque vigorem,
[y] Optima nostrorum pars matutina dierum,
Difficili hanc igitur potiorem impende labori.
[z] Nulla dies abeat, quin linea ducta supersit:

[s] LXV. Perpetually practise, and do easily what you have conceived.

[t] LXVI. The morning most proper for work.

[u] LXVII. Every day do something.

[x] LXV. Quod mente conceperis manu comproba.

[y] LXVI. Matutinum tempus labori aptum.

[z] LXVII. Singulis diebus aliquid faciendum.

[a] And wand'ring oft the crowded streets along,
The native gestures of the passing throng
Attentive mark; for many a casual grace,
Th' expressive lines of each impassion'd face
That bears its joys or sorrows undisguis'd,
May by observant Taste be there surpriz'd.
Thus, true to art, and zealous to excel,
Ponder on Nature's powers, and weigh them well!
Explore thro' earth and heaven, thro' sea and skies,
The accidental graces as they rise;
[b] And while each present form the Fancy warms,
Swift on thy tablets fix its fleeting charms.
To Temperance all our liveliest powers we owe,
She bids the Judgment wake, the Fancy flow;
For her the Artist shuns the fuming feast,
The midnight roar, the Bacchanalian guest,

[c] Perque vias, vultus hominum, motusque notabis
Libertate sua proprios, positasque figuras
Ex sese faciles, ut inobservatus, habebis.
[d] Mox quodcumque mari, terris, et in aëre pulchrum
Contigerit, chartis propera mandare paratis,
Dum præsens animo species tibi fervet hianti.
Non epulis nimis indulget Pictura, meroque
Parcit: Amicorum nisi cum sermone benigno

[a] LXVIII. The method of catching natural passions.
[b] LXIX. Of the table-book.
[c] LXVIII. Affectus inobservati et naturales.
[d] LXIX. Non desint pugillares.

And seeks those softer opiates of the soul,
The social circle, the diluted bowl:
Crown'd with the freedom of a single life,
He flies domestic din, litigious strife;
Abhors the noisy haunts of bustling trade,
And steals serene to solitude and shade;
There calmly seated in his village bower,
He gives to noblest themes the studious hour,
While Genius, Practice, Contemplation join
To warm his soul with energy divine;
For paltry gold let pining misers sigh,
His soul invokes a nobler deity;
Smit with the glorious avarice of fame,
He claims no less than an immortal name;
Hence on his fancy just conception shines,
True judgment guides his hand, true taste refines;
Hence ceaseless toil, devotion to his art,
A docile temper, and a generous heart;

Exhaustam reparet mentem recreata; sed inde
Litibus, et curis, in cœlibe libera vita,
Secessus procul à turba, strepituque remotos,
Villarum, rurisque beata silentia quærit:
Namque recollecto, totâ incumbente Minervâ,
Ingenio, rerum species præsentior extat;
Commodiusque operis compagem amplectitur omnem.
  Infami tibi non potior sit avara peculi
Cura, aurique fames, modicâ quam sorte beato,
Nominis æterni, et laudis pruritus habendæ,
Condignæ pulchrorum operum mercedis in ævum.
Judicium, docile ingenium, cor nobile, sensus

Docile, his sage preceptor to obey,
Generous, his aid with gratitude to pay;
Blest with the bloom of youth, the nerves of health,
And competence, a better boon than wealth.
Great blessings these! yet will not these empower
His tints to charm at every labouring hour:
All have their brilliant moments, when alone
They paint as if some star propitious shone.
Yet then, e'en then, the hand but ill conveys
The bolder grace that in the fancy plays:
Hence, candid critics, this sad truth confest,
Accept what least is bad, and deem it best;
Lament the soul in error's thraldom held,
Compare life's span with art's extensive field;
Know that ere perfect taste matures the mind,
Or perfect practice to that taste be join'd,
Comes age, comes sickness, comes contracting pain,
And chills the warmth of youth in every vein.

Sublimes, firmum corpus, florensque juventa,
Commoda res, labor, artis amor, doctusque magister:
Et quamcumque voles occasio porrigat ansam,
Ni genius quidam adfuerit, sydusque benignum,
Dotibus his tantis, nec adhuc ars tanta paratur.
Distat ab ingenio longè manus. Optima doctis
Censentur, quæ prava minus; latet omnibus error;
Vitaque tam longæ brevior non sufficit arti.
Desinimus nam posse senes, cùm scire periti
Incipimus, doctamque manum gravat ægra senectus;
Nec gelidis fervet juvenilis in artubus ardor.

Rise then, ye Youths, while yet that warmth inspires,
While yet nor years impair, nor labour tires,
While health, while strength are yours, while that mild ray
Which shone auspicious on your natal day,
Conducts you to Minerva's peaceful quire,—
Sons of her choice, and sharers of her fire,
Rise at the call of Art: expand your breast,
Capacious to receive the mighty guest,
While, free from prejudice, your active eye
Preserves its first unsullied purity;
While new to beauty's charms, your eager soul
Drinks copious draughts of the delicious whole,
And Memory on her soft, yet lasting page,
Stamps the fresh image which shall charm thro' age.
[e] When duly taught each geometric rule,
Approach with awful step the Grecian school,

Quare agite, O Juvenes, placido quos sydere natos
Paciferæ studia allectant tranquilla Minervæ;
Quosque suo fovet igne, sibique optavit alumnos!
Eja agite, atque animis ingentem ingentibus artem
Exercete alacres, dum strenua corda juventus
Viribus exstimulat vegetis, patiensque laborum est;
Dum vacua errorum, nulloque imbuta sapore
Pura nitet mens, et rerum sitibunda novarum,
Præsentes haurit species, atque humida servat!
[f] In geometrali prius arte parumper adulti
Signa antiqua super Graiorum addiscite formam;

[e] LXX. The method of Studies for a young Painter.

[f] LXX. Ordo Studiorum.

Hence deem'd divine, the world his merit own'd,
With riches loaded, and with honours crown'd.
From all their charms combin'd, with happy toil,
Did ANNIBAL compose his wond'rous style:
O'er the fair fraud so close a veil is thrown,
That every borrow'd grace becomes his own.
[g] If then to praise like their's your souls aspire,
Catch from their works a portion of their fire;
Revolve their labours all, for all will teach,—
Their finish'd picture, and their slightest sketch,
Yet more than these to Meditation's eyes
Great Nature's self redundantly supplies:
Her presence, best of models! is the source
Whence Genius draws augmented power and force;
Her precepts, best of teachers! give the powers,
Whence art by practice to perfection soars.

Divus sit dictus, magnis et honoribus auctus,
Fortunæque bonis: Quos sedulus *Hannibal* omnes
In propriam mentem, atque modum mirâ arte coëgit.
[h] Plurimus inde labor tabulas imitando juvabit
Egregias, operumque typos; sed plura docebit
Natura ante oculos præsens; nam firmat et auget
Vim genii, ex illâque artem experientia complet.
Multa supersileo quæ commentaria dicent.

[g] LXXI. Nature and Experience perfect art.

[h] LXXI. Natura et Experientia artem perficiunt.

These useful rules from time and chance to save,
In Latian strains, the studious FRESNOY gave:
On Tiber's peaceful banks the Poet lay,
What time the pride of Bourbon urg'd his way,
Thro' hostile camps, and crimson fields of slain,
To vindicate his race and vanquish Spain;
High on the Alps he took his warrior stand,
And thence in ardent volley from his hand
His thunder darted; *(so the Flatterer sings*
In strains best suited to the ear of kings,)
And like ALCIDES, with vindictive tread,
Crush'd the Hispanian lion's gasping head.
But mark the Proteus-policy of state:
Now, while his courtly numbers I translate,
The foes are friends, in social league they dare
On Britain to "let slip the dogs of war."
Vain efforts all, which in disgrace shall end,
If Britain, truly to herself a friend,
Thro' all her realms bids civil discord cease,
And heals her empire's wounds by arts of peace.

Hæc ego, dum memoror subitura volubilis ævi
Cuncta vices, variisque olim peritura ruinis,
Pauca sophismata sum graphica immortalibus ausus
Credere Pieriis, Romæ meditatus: ad Alpes,
Dum super insanas moles, inimicaque castra
Borbonidum decus et vindex Lodoicus avorum,
Fulminat ardenti dextrâ, patriæque resurgens
Gallicus Alcides premit Hispani ora leonis.

The few Notes which the Translator has inserted, and which are marked M, are merely critical, and relate only to the author's text, or his own version.

NOTES

ON THE

ART OF PAINTING.

Note I. Verse 3.

The rival Sisters, &c.

M. Du Piles opens his annotations here, with much learned quotation from Tertullian, Cicero, Ovid, and Suidas, in order to show the affinity between the two arts. But it may perhaps be more pertinent to substitute in the place of it all a single passage, by Plutarch ascribed to Simonides, and which our author, after having quoted Horace, has literally translated: Ζωγραφίαν εἶναι ΦΘΕΓΓΟΜΕΝΗΝ τὴν Ποίησιν, Ποίησιν δὲ ΣΙΓΩΣΑΝ τὴν Ζωγραφίαν. There is a Latin line somewhere to the same purpose, but I know not whether ancient or modern:

Poema
Est pictura loquens, mutum pictura poema. M.

Note II. Verse 33.

Such powers, such praises, heav'n-born Pair, belong
To magic colouring, and persuasive song.

That is to say, they belong intrinsically and of right. Mr. Wills, in the preface to his version of our poet, first detected the false translations of du Piles and Dryden, which say, "so much have these divine arts been honoured:" in consequence of which the Frenchman gives a note of four pages, enumerating the instances in which Painting and its professors have been honoured by kings and great men, ancient and modern. Fresnoy had not this in his idea: He says, "tantus *inest* divis honor artibus atque potestas," which Wills justly and literally translates,

Such powers, such honours, are in arts divine.

M.

Note III. Verse 51.

'Tis Painting's first chief business to explore,
What lovelier forms in Nature's boundless store
Are best to art and ancient taste allied,
For ancient taste those forms has best applied.

The Poet, with great propriety, begins by declaring what is *the chief business* of theory, and pronounces it to be a knowledge of what is beautiful in nature:

That form alone, where glows peculiar grace,
The genuine painter condescends to trace. V. 9.

There is an absolute necessity for the painter to generalize his notions; to paint particulars is not to paint nature, it is only to paint circumstances. When the artist has conceived in his imagination the image of perfect beauty, or the abstract idea of forms, he may be said to be admitted into the great council of Nature, and to

Trace beauty's beam to its eternal spring,
And pure to man the fire celestial bring. V. 19.

To facilitate the acquisition of this ideal beauty, the artist is recommended to a studious examination of ancient sculpture. R.

Note IV. Verse 55.

Till this be learn'd, how all things disagree!
How all one wretched, blind barbarity!

The mind is distracted with a variety of accidents, for so they ought to be called rather than forms: and the disagreement of those among themselves will be a perpetual source of confusion and meanness, until, by generalizing his ideas, the painter has acquired the only true criterion of judgment: then with a *Master's care*,

Judge of his art, thro' beauty's realms he flies,
Selects, combines, improves, diversifies. V. 77.

It is better that he should come to diversify on particulars from the large and broad idea of things, than

vainly attempt to ascend from particulars to this great general idea: for to generalize from the endless and vicious variety of *actual* forms, requires a mind of wonderful capacity; it is perhaps more than any one mind can accomplish: but when the other, and, I think, better course is pursued, the Artist may avail himself of the united powers of all his predecessors. He sets out with an ample inheritance, and avails himself of the selection of ages. R.

Note V. Verse 63.

Of all vain fools with coxcomb talents curst,—

The sententious and Horatian line, (says a later French editor,) which, in the original, is placed to the score of the ancients, to give it greater weight, is the Author's own. I suspect, however, that he borrowed the thought from some ancient prose-writer, as we see he borrowed from Plutarch before at the opening of his poem. M.

Note VI. Verse 65.

When first the orient rays of beauty move—

The original here is very obscure; when I had translated the passage in the clearest manner I was able, but necessarily with some periphrasis, I consulted a learned friend upon it, who was pleased to approve the version, and to elucidate the text in the following manner: "Cognita" (the things known), in line 45, refers to "Nôsse quid in natura pulchrius," (the thing to be

learned,) in line 38: the main thing is to *know* what forms are most beautiful, and to know what forms have been chiefly reputed such by the ancients. In these, when once known, i. e. attended to and considered, the mind of course takes a pleasure, and thus the *conscious* soul becomes enamoured with the object, &c. as in the paraphrase. M.

Note VII. Verse 79.

With nimble step pursues the fleeting throng,
And clasps each Venus as she glides along.

The power of expressing these transitory beauties is perhaps the greatest effort of our art, and which cannot be attained till the Student has acquired a facility of drawing Nature correctly in its inanimate state. R.

Note VIII. Verse 81.

Yet some there are who indiscreetly stray,
Where purblind Practice only points the way.

Practice is justly called *purblind;* for practice, that is tolerable in its way, is not totally *blind:* an imperceptible theory, which grows out of, accompanies, and directs it, is never wholly wanting to a sedulous practice; but this goes but a little way with the Painter himself, and is utterly inexplicable to others.

To become a great proficient, an artist ought to see clearly enough to enable him to point out to others the principle on which he works; otherwise he will be con-

fined, and what is worse, he will be uncertain. A degree of mechanical practice, odd as it may seem, must precede theory. The reason is, that if we wait till we are partly able to comprehend the theory of art, too much of life will be passed to permit us to acquire facility and power: something therefore must be done on trust, by mere imitation of given patterns before the theory of art can be *felt*. Thus we shall become acquainted with the *necessities* of the art, and the very great want of theory, the sense of which want can alone lead us to take pains to acquire it: for what better means can we have of knowing to a certainty, and of imprinting strongly on our mind our own deficiencies, than unsuccessful attempts? This theory will be best understood by, and in, practice. If Practice advances too far before Theory, her guide, she is likely to lose her way; and if she keeps too far behind, to be discouraged. R.

Note IX. Verse 90.

'Twas not by words Apelles charm'd mankind.

As Fresnoy has condescended to give advice of a prudential kind, let me be permitted here to recommend to the Artist to talk as little as possible of his own works, much less to praise them; and this not so much for the sake of avoiding the character of vanity, as for keeping clear of a real detriment; of a real productive cause which prevents his progress in his art, and dulls the edge of enterprize.

He who has the habit of insinuating his own excellence to the little circle of his friends, with whom he comes into contact, will grow languid in his exertions to fill a larger sphere of reputation: he will fall into the habit of acquiescing in the partial opinions of a few; he will grow restive in his own; by admiring himself, he will come to repeat himself, and then there is an end of improvement. In a Painter it is particularly dangerous to be too good a speaker; it lessens the necessary endeavours to make himself master of the language which properly belongs to his art, that of his pencil. This circle of self-applause and reflected admiration, is to him the world, which he vainly imagines he has engaged in his party, and therefore supposes that further enterprize becomes less necessary.

Neither is it prudent, for the same reason, to talk much of a work before he undertakes it, which will probably thus be prevented from being ever begun. Even showing a picture in an unfinished state makes the finishing afterwards irksome; the Artist has already had the gratification which he ought to have kept back, and made to serve as a spur to hasten its completion. R.

Note X. Verse 101.

Some lofty theme let judgment first supply,
Supremely fraught with grace and majesty.

It is a matter of great judgment to know what subjects are or are not fit for painting. It is true that they

ought to be such as the verses here direct, full of grace and majesty; but it is not every such subject that will answer to the Painter. The Painter's theme is generally supplied by the Poet or Historian: but as the Painter speaks to the eye, a story in which fine feeling and curious sentiment is predominant, rather than palpable situation, gross interest, and distinct passion, is not suited to his purpose.

It should be likewise a story generally known; for the Painter, representing one point of time only, cannot inform the spectator what preceded the event, however necessary in order to judge of the propriety and truth of the expression and character of the actors. It may be remarked that action is the principal requisite in a subject for History-painting; and that there are many subjects which, though very interesting to the reader, would make no figure in representation; such are those subjects which consist in any long *series of* action, the *parts* of which have very much *dependency* each on the other; or where any remarkable point or turn of verbal expression makes a part of the excellence of the story; or where it has its effect from *allusion to circumstances not actually present*. An instance occurs to me of a subject which was recommended to a Painter by a very distinguished person, but who, as it appears, was but little conversant with the art; it was what passed between James II. and the old Earl of Bedford in the council which was held just before the Revolution.

This is a very striking piece of history; but so far from being a proper subject, that it unluckily possesses no one requisite necessary for a picture; it has a retrospect to other circumstances of history of a very complicated nature; it marks no general or intelligible action or passion; and it is necessarily deficient in that variety of heads, forms, ages, sexes, and draperies, which sometimes, by good management, supply by picturesque effect the want of real interest in a history. R.

Note XI. Ver. 107.

Then let the virgin canvass smooth expand,
To claim the sketch, and tempt the Artist's hand.

I wish to understand the last line as recommending to the artist to paint the sketch previously on canvass, as was the practice with Rubens.

This method of painting the sketch, instead of merely drawing it on paper, will give a facility in the management of colours, and in the handling, which the Italian Painters, not having this custom, wanted: by habit he will acquire equal readiness in doing two things at a time as in doing only one. A Painter, as I have said on another occasion, if possible, should paint all his studies, and consider drawing only as a succedaneum when colours are not at hand. This was the practice of the Venetian painters, and of all those who have excelled in colouring; Correggio used to say, *C' havea i suoi disegni nella stremità de' pennelli.* The method of Rubens was

to sketch his composition in colours, with all the parts more determined than sketches generally are; from this sketch his scholars advanced the picture as far as they were capable; after which he retouched the whole himself.

The Painter's operation may be divided into three parts; the planning, which implies the sketch of the general composition; the transferring that design to the canvass; and the finishing or retouching the whole. If, for dispatch, the Artist looks out for assistance, it is in the middle stage only he can receive it; the first and last operation must be the work of his own hand.

R.

Note XII. Ver. 108.

Then, bold Invention, all thy powers diffuse,
Of all thy sisters thou the noblest Muse.

The Invention of a Painter consists not in inventing the subject, but in a capacity of forming in his imagination the subject in a manner best accommodated to his art, though wholly borrowed from Poets, Historians, or popular tradition. For this purpose he has full as much to do, and perhaps more, than if the very story was invented: for he is bound to follow the ideas which he has received, and to translate them (if I may use the expression) into another art. In this translation the Painter's invention lies; he must in a manner new-cast the whole, and model it in his own imagination: to make it a Painter's nourishment, it must pass through a

Painter's mind. Having received an idea of the pathetic and grand in *intellect*, he has next to consider how to make it correspond with what is touching and awful to the *eye*, which is a business by itself. But here begins what in the language of Painters is called *Invention*, which includes not only the composition, or the putting the whole together, and the disposition of every individual part, but likewise the management of the background, the effect of light and shadow, and the attitude of every figure or animal that is introduced, or makes a part of the work.

Composition, which is the principal part of the invention of a Painter, is by far the greatest difficulty he has to encounter. Every man that can paint at all, can execute individual parts; but to keep those parts in due subordination as relative to a whole, requires a comprehensive view of the art, that more strongly implies genius, than perhaps any other quality whatever. R.

Note XIII. Ver. 119.

Vivid and faithful to the historic page,
Express the customs, manners, forms, and age.

Though the Painter borrows his subject, he considers his art as not subservient to any other. His business is something more than assisting the Historian with explanatory figures: as soon as he takes it into his hands, he adds, retrenches, transposes, and moulds it anew, till it is made fit for his own art; he avails himself of the

privileges allowed to Poets and Painters, and dares every thing to accomplish his end, by means correspondent to that end,—to impress the spectator with the same interest at the sight of his representation, as the Poet has contrived to impress on the reader by his description: the end is the same in both cases, though the means are and must be different. Ideas intended to be conveyed to the mind by one sense, cannot always, with equal success, be conveyed by another: our author therefore has recommended to us elsewhere to be attentive

"On what may aid our art, and what destroy." V. 598.

Even the historian takes great liberties with facts, in order to interest his readers, and make his narration more delightful; much greater right has the painter to do this, who, though his work is called History-Painting, gives in reality a poetical representation of events. R.

Note XIV. Verse 121.

Nor paint conspicuous on the foremost plain
Whate'er is false, impertinent, or vain.

This precept, so obvious to common sense, appears superfluous, till we recollect that some of the greatest painters have been guilty of a breach of it: for, not to mention Paul Veronese or Rubens, whose principles, as ornamental painters, would allow great latitude in introducing animals, or whatever they might think necessary, to contrast or make the composition more picturesque, we can no longer wonder why the Poet has thought it

worth setting a guard against this impropriety, when we find that such men as Raffaelle and the Caracci, in their greatest and most serious works, have introduced on the foreground mean and frivolous circumstances.

Such improprieties, to do justice to the more modern painters, are seldom found in their works. The only excuse that can be made for those great artists, is their living in an age when it was the custom to mix the ludicrous with the serious, and when Poetry as well as Painting gave into this fashion. R.

Note XV. Verse 125.

This rare, this arduous task no rules can teach.

This must be meant to refer to *invention*, and not to the precepts immediately preceding; which relating only to the mechanical disposition of the work, cannot be supposed to be out of the reach of the rules of art, or not to be acquired but by the assistance of supernatural power. R.

Note XVI. Verse 128.

Prometheus ravish'd from the car of day.

After the lines in the original of this passage, there comes in one of a proverbial cast, taken from Horace:*

"Non uti Dædaliam licet omnibus ire Corinthum."

I could not introduce a version of this with any grace

* Horace's line runs thus, (Epistle 17, Book I. line 36.)
Non cuivis homini contingit adire Corinthum. M.

into the conclusion of the sentence; and indeed I do not think it connects well in the original. It certainly conveys no truth of importance, nor adds much to what went before it. I suppose, therefore, I shall be pardoned for having taken no notice of it in my translation.

Mr. Ray, in his collection of English proverbs, brings this of Horace as a parallel to a ridiculous English one, viz. *Every man's nose will not make a shoeing-horn.* It is certain, were a proverb here introduced, it ought to be of English growth to suit an English translation; but this, alas! would not fit my purpose, and Mr. Ray gives us no other. I hold myself, therefore, excusable for leaving the line untranslated.

Note XVII. Verse 133.

Till all complete the gradual wonder shone,
And vanquish'd Nature own'd herself outdone.

In strict propriety, the Grecian statues only excel Nature by bringing together such an assemblage of beautiful parts, as Nature was never known to bestow on one object:

For earth-born graces sparingly impart
The symmetry supreme of perfect art. V. 69.

It must be remembered, that the component parts of the most perfect statue never can excel nature,—that we can form no idea of beauty beyond her works: we can only make this rare assemblage; an assemblage so

rare, that if we are to give the name of monster to what is uncommon, we might, in the words of the Duke of Buckingham, call it

A faultless monster, which the world ne'er saw. R.

Note XVI. Verse 145.

Learn then from Greece, ye Youths, Proportion's law,
Inform'd by her, each just Position draw.

Du Piles has, in his note on this passage, given the measures of a human body, as taken by Fresnoy from the statues of the ancients, which are here transcribed:

"The ancients have commonly allowed eight heads "to their figures, though some of them have but seven; "but we ordinarily divide the figures into ten faces;* "that is to say, from the crown of the head to the sole "of the foot, in the following manner:

"From the crown of the head to the fore-head is the "third part of a face.

"The face begins at the root of the lowest hairs "which are upon the forehead, and ends at the bottom "of the chin.

"The face is divided into three proportionable parts; "the first contains the forehead, the second the nose, "and the third the mouth and the chin; from the chin "to the pit betwixt the collar-bones are two lengths of "a nose.

* This depends on the age and quality of the persons. The Apollo and Venus of Medicis have more than ten faces. R.

" From the pit betwixt the collar-bones to the bottom " of the breast, one face.

" From the bottom of the breasts to the navel, one " face.*

" From the navel to the genitories, one face.†

" From the genitories to the upper part of the knee, " two faces.

" The knee contains half a face.

" From the lower part of the knee to the ankle, two " faces.

" From the ankle to the sole of the foot, half a face.

" A man, when his arms are stretched out, is, from " the longest finger of his right hand to the longest of " his left, as broad as he is long.

" From one side of the breasts to the other, two " faces.

" The bone of the arm, called humerus, is the length " of two faces from the shoulder to the elbow.

" From the end of the elbow to the root of the little " finger, the bone called cubitus, with part of the hand, " contains two faces.

" From the box of the shoulder-blade to the pit be- " twixt the collar-bones, one face.

" If you would be satisfied in the measures of breadth,

* The Apollo has a nose more. R.

† The Apollo has half a nose more; and the upper half of the Venus de Medicis is to the lower part of the belly, and not to the privy-parts. R.

" from the extremity of one finger to the other, so that " this breadth should be equal to the length of the body, " you must observe, that the boxes of the elbows with " the humerus, and of the humerus with the shoulder- " blade, bear the proportion of half a face when the " arms are stretched out.

" The sole of the foot is the sixth part of the figure.

" The hand is the length of a face.

" The thumb contains a nose.

" The inside of the arm, from the place where the " muscle disappears, which makes the breast, (called " the pectoral muscle,) to the middle of the arm, four " noses.

" From the middle of the arm to the beginning of " the hand, five noses.

" The longest toe is a nose long.

" The two utmost parts of the teats, and the pit be- " twixt the collar-bones of a woman, make an equilate- " ral triangle.

" For the breadth of the limbs, no precise measures " can be given, because the measures themselves are " changeable, according to the quality of the persons, " and according to the movement of the muscles." *Du Piles.*

The measures of the ancient statues, by Audran, appear to be the most useful, as they are accompanied with the outline of the figures which are most distinguished for correctness. R.

Note XIX. Verse 151.

But chief from her that flowing outline take,—

The French editor,* who republished this poem in the year 1753, (eighty-five years later than the first edition of Du Piles,) remarks, here, that Noël Coypel, (called Coypel le Poussin,) in a discourse which he published and addressed to the French Academy, says, "That all which our Author has delivered concerning "outlines (*contours*) in this passage, does not appear to "him to convey any precise or certain rules. He adds, "that it is indeed almost a thing impossible to give "them, particularly in what regards grace and elegance "of outline. Anatomy and proportion, according to "him, may enable a person to design with correctness, "but cannot give that noble part of the art, which ought "to be attributed to the mind or understanding, accord-"ing to which it is more or less delicate." I think Fresnoy has hinted the very same thing more than once; and, perhaps, like Coypel, lays too great a stress on the mental faculty which we call strength of genius; but the consideration of this does not come within the province which I have allotted myself in these *critical* notes. M.

* He calls himself, in the Paris edition, intitled, "L' Ecole "d'Uranie," Le Sieur M. D. Q. The Abbé De Marsy's poem, intitled *Pictura*, is annexed to Du Fresnoy's in that edition.

Note XX. Verse 163.

Yet deem not, Youths, that Perspective can give
Those charms complete by which your works shall live.

The translator has softened, if not changed the text, which boldly pronounces that Perspective cannot be depended on as a certain rule. Fresnoy was not aware that he was arguing from the abuse of the art of perspective, the business of which is to represent objects as they appear to the eye, or as they are delineated on a transparent plane placed between the spectator and the object. The rules of perspective, as well as all other rules, may be injudiciously applied; and it must be acknowledged that a misapplication of them is but too frequently found even in the works of the most considerable artists. It is not uncommon to see a figure on the foreground represented near twice the size of another which is supposed to be removed but a few feet behind it; this, though true according to rule, will appear monstrous. This error proceeds from placing the point of distance too near the point of sight, by which means the diminution of objects is so sudden as to appear unnatural, unless you stand so near the picture as the point of distance requires, which would be too near for the eye to comprehend the whole picture; whereas, if the point of distance is removed so far as the spectator may be supposed to stand in order to see commodiously, and take within his view the whole, the figures behind would then suffer under no such violent diminution.

Du Piles, in his note on this passage, endeavours to confirm Fresnoy in his prejudice, by giving an instance which proves, as he imagines, the uncertainty of the art. He supposes it employed to delineate the Trajan pillar, the figures on which, being, as he says, larger at the top than the bottom, would counteract the effects of perspective. The folly of this needs no comment. I shall only observe, by the way, that the fact is not true, the figures on that pillar being all of the same dimensions.

R.

Note XXI. Verse 163.

Yet deem not, Youths, that Perspective can give
Those charms complete by which your works shall live.

I plead guilty to the charge in the preceding note. I have translated the passage, as if the text had been *ad* complementum graphidos, instead of *aut*, and consequently might have been thus construed: "Perspective cannot be said to be a sure rule or guide *to* the complete knowledge of painting, but only an assistance, &c." This I did to make the position more consonant to truth; and I am pleased to find that it agrees much better with Sir Joshua's annotations than the original would have done. Du Piles, in the former part of his note, (which, I know not for what reason, Mr. Dryden omitted,) says thus: "It is not in order to reject Perspective that the Author speaks thus; for he advises it elsewhere in his poem,* as a study absolutely necessary. Nevertheless, I

* I suppose he alludes to the 509th line:

In geometrali prius arte parumpèr adulti. M.

own this passage is not quite clear, yet it was not my fault that the Author did not make it more intelligible: but he was so much offended with some persons who knew nothing of Painting in general, save only the part of Perspective, in which they made the whole art of it to consist, that he would never be persuaded to recall the expression, though I fully convinced him, that every thing these people said was not of the least consequence." Du Piles seems to tell this tale (so little to the credit of his friend's judgment) merely to make himself of consequence; for my own part, I can hardly be persuaded that a person who has translated a work so inaccurately as Du Piles has done this, "did it under the Author's own eye, and corrected it till the version was entirely to his own mind," which, in his preface, he asserts was the case.

Note XXII. Verse 175.

Yet to each separate form adapt with care
Such limbs, such robes, such attitude and air,
As best befit the head,——

As it is necessary, for the sake of variety, that figures not only of different ages, but of different forms and characters, be introduced in a work where many figures are required, care must be taken that those different characters have a certain consonance of parts among themselves, such as is generally found in Nature: a fat face, for instance, is usually accompanied with a proportional degree of corpulency of body; an aquiline

nose for the most part belongs to a thin countenance, with a body and limbs corresponding to it; but these are observations which must occur to every body.

Yet there are others that are not so obvious; and those who have turned their thoughts this way, may form a probable conjecture concerning the form of the rest of the figure from a part,—from the fingers, or from a single feature of the face: for instance, those who are born crook-backed have commonly a peculiar form of lips and expression in the mouth, that strongly denotes that deformity. R.

Note XXIII. Verse 179.

Learn action from the dumb; the dumb shall teach
How happiest to supply the want of speech.

Gesture is a language we are born with, and is the most natural way of expressing ourselves: Painting may be said, therefore, in this respect to have the superiority over Poetry.

Fresnoy, however, certainly means here persons either born dumb, or who are become so from accident or violence; and the translator has, therefore, rendered his meaning justly: but persons who are born dumb are commonly deaf also, and their gestures are usually extravagant and forced; and of those who have become dumb by accident or violence, examples are too rare to furnish the Painter with sufficient observation. I would wish therefore to understand the rule, as dictating to the

Artist, to observe how persons, with naturally good expressive features, are affected in their looks and actions by any spectacle or sentiment which they see or hear, and to copy the gestures which they then silently make use of; but he should ever take these lessons from Nature only, and not imitate her at second-hand, as many French Painters do, who appear to take their ideas, not only of grace and dignity, but of emotion and passion, from their theatrical heroes; which is imitating an imitation, and often a false or exaggerated imitation.

R.

Note XXIV. Verse 181.

Fair in the front, in all the blaze of light,
The hero of thy piece should meet the sight.

There can be no doubt that this figure should be laboured in proportion as it claims the attention of the spectator, but there is no necessity that it should be placed in the middle of the picture, or receive the principal light; this conduct, if always observed, would reduce the art of composition to too great a uniformity.

It is sufficient, if the place he holds, or the attention of the other figures to him, denote him the hero of the piece.

The principal figure may be too principal. The harmony of composition requires that the inferior characters bear some proportion, according to their several stations, to the hero of the work.

This rule, as enforced by Fresnoy, may be said more properly to belong to the art in its infant state, or to be directed to young students as a first precept; but the more advanced know that such an apparent artificial disposition would be in reality for that reason inartificial.

R.

Note XXV. Verse 193.

In every figur'd group the judging eye
Demands the charms of contrariety.

The rule of contrasting figures, or groups, is not only universally known and adopted, but it is frequently carried to such excess, that our Author might, perhaps, with more propriety have fixed his caution on the other side, and recommended to the Artist, not to destroy the grandeur and simplicity of his design by violent and affected contrasts.

The artless uniformity of the compositions of the old Gothic painters is far preferable to this false refinement, this ostentatious display of academic art. A greater degree of contrast and variety may be allowed in the picturesque or ornamental style; but we must not forget that they are the natural enemies of simplicity, and consequently of the grand style, and destroy *that solemn majesty, that soft repose,* which is produced in a great measure by regularity and uniformity.

An instance occurs to me where those two qualities are separately exhibited by two great painters, Rubens

and Titian. The picture of Rubens is in the church of St. Augustine at Antwerp; the subject (if that may be called a subject where no story is represented) is the Virgin and infant Christ, placed high in the picture on a pedestal, with many saints about them, and as many below them, with others on the steps, to serve as a link to unite the upper and lower part of the picture.

The composition of this picture is perfect in its kind; the Artist has shown the greatest skill in disposing and constrasting more than twenty figures without confusion and without crowding; the whole appearing as much animated and in motion as it is possible where nothing is to be done.

The picture of Titian, which we would oppose to this, is in the church of the Frati at Venice. The peculiar character of this piece is grandeur and simplicity, which proceed in a great measure from the regularity of the composition, two of the principal figures being represented kneeling directly opposite to each other, and nearly in the same attitude; this is what few painters would have had the courage to venture: Rubens would certainly have rejected so unpicturesque a mode of composition, had it occurred to him.

Both those pictures are equally excellent in their kind, and may be said to characterise their respective authors. There is a bustle and animation in the work of Rubens a quiet, solemn majesty in that of Titian. The excellence

of Rubens is the picturesque effect which he produces, The superior merit of Titian is in the appearance of being above seeking after any such artificial excellence.*

R.

Note XXVI. Verse 217.

——————————— we still should lose
That solemn majesty, that soft repose,
Dear to the curious eye, and only found,
Where few fair objects fill an ample ground.

It is said to have been Annibal Caracci's opinion, that a perfect composition ought not to consist of more than twelve figures, which he thought enough to people three groups, and that more would destroy that majesty and repose so necessary to the grand style of painting. R.

Note XXVII. Verse 223.

Judgment will so the several groups unite,
That one compacted whole shall meet the sight.

Nothing so much breaks in upon, and destroys this compactness, as that mode of composition which cuts in the middle the figures on the foreground, though it was frequently the practice of the greatest painters, even of the best age: Michael Angelo has it in the crucifixion of St. Peter; Raffaelle in the Carton of the preaching of St. Paul; and Parmeggiano often showed only the head and shoulders above the base of the picture. How-

ever, the more modern Painters, notwithstanding such authorities, cannot be accused of having fallen into this error.

But, suppose we carry the reformation still farther, and that we do not suffer the sides of the picture to cut off any part of the figures, the composition would certainly be more round and compact within itself. All subjects, it is true, will not admit of this: however, we may safely recommend it, unless the circumstances are very particular, and such as are certain to produce some striking effect by the breach of so just a rule. R.

Note XXVIII. Verse 243.

Nor yet to Nature such strict homage pay,
As not to quit when Genius leads the way;
Nor yet tho' Genius all his succour sends,
Her mimic powers tho' ready Memory lends,
Presume from Nature wholly to depart,
For Nature is the arbitress of art.

Nothing in the art requires more attention and judgment, or more of that power of discrimination which may not improperly be called Genius, than the steering between general ideas and individuality: for though the body of the work must certainly be composed by the first, in order to communicate a character of grandeur to the whole, yet a dash of the latter is sometimes necessary to give an interest. An individual model, copied with scrupulous exactness, makes a mean style, like the Dutch:

and the neglect of an actual model, and the method of proceeding solely from idea, has a tendency to make the painter degenerate into a mannerist.

In order to keep the mind in repair, it is necessary to replace and refreshen those impressions of nature which are continually wearing away.

A circumstance mentioned in the life of Guido is well worth the attention of artists. He was asked from whence he borrowed his idea of beauty, which is acknowledged superior to that of any other painter; he said he would show all the models he used, and ordered a common porter to sit before him, from whom he drew a beautiful countenance. This was undoubtedly an exaggeration of his conduct; but his intention was to show that he thought it necessary for painters to have some model of nature before them, however they might deviate from it, and correct it from the idea of perfect beauty which they have formed in their minds.

In painting it is far better to have a model even to depart from, than to have nothing fixed and certain to determine the idea. When there is a model, there is something to proceed on, something to be corrected; so that even supposing no part is adopted, the model has still been not without use.

Such habits of intercourse with nature will at least create that variety which will prevent any one from prognosticating, on being informed of the subject, what manner of work the Painter is likely to produce;

which is the most disagreeable character an Artist can have. R.

Note XXIX. Verse 265.

Peculiar toil on single forms bestow,
There let expression lend its finish'd glow.

When the picture consists of a single figure only, that figure must be contrasted in its limbs and drapery with great variety of lines; it should be as much as possible a composition of itself. It may be remarked, that such a complete figure will never unite or make a part of a group; as on the other hand, no figure of a well-conducted group will stand by itself. A composition, where every figure is such as I suppose a single figure ought to be, and those likewise contrasted to each other, which is not uncommon in the works of young artists, produces such an assemblage of artifice and affectation as is in the highest degree unnatural and disgustful.

There is another circumstance which, though not improper in single figures, ought never to be practised in historical pictures: that of representing any figure as looking out of the picture, that is, looking at the person who views the picture. This conduct in history gives an appearance to that figure of having no connection with the rest; and ought therefore never to be practised except in ludicrous subjects.

It is not certain that the variety recommended in a single figure can, with equal success, be extended to

colouring. The difficulty will be in diffusing the colours of the drapery of this single figure to other distant parts of the picture, for this is what harmony requires; this difficulty, however, seems to be evaded in the works of Titian, Vandyck, and many others, by dressing their single figures in black or white.

Vandyck, in the famous portrait of Cardinal Bentivoglio, was confined in his dress to crimson velvet and white linen: he has, therefore, made the curtain in the back-ground of the same crimson colour, and the white is diffused by a letter which lies on the table; and a bunch of flowers is likewise introduced for the same purpose. R.

Note XXX. Verse 275.

Not on the form in stiff adhesion laid,
But well reliev'd by gentle light and shade.

The disposing of the drapery so as to appear to cling close round the limbs, is a kind of pedantry which young painters are very apt to fall into, as it carries with it a relish of the learning acquired from the ancient statues; but they should recollect there is not the same necessity for this practice in painting as in sculpture. R.

Note XXXI. Verse 297.

But sparingly thy earth-born stores unfold,
Nor load with gems, nor lace with tawdry gold.

Finery of all kinds destroys grandeur, which in a great

measure proceeds from simplicity; it may, however, without impropriety be introduced into the ornamental style, such as that of Rubens and Paul Veronese. R.

Note XXXII. Verse 307.

That majesty, that grace so rarely given
To mortal man, not taught by art, but Heaven.

It is undoubtedly true, and perfectly obvious, that every part of the art has a grace belonging to it, which, to satisfy and captivate the mind, must be superadded to correctness. This excellence, however expressed, whether we call it Genius, Taste, or the Gift of Heaven, I am confident may be acquired: or the Artist may certainly be put into that train by which it shall be acquired; though he must, in a great measure, teach himself by a continual contemplation of the works of those painters who are acknowledged to excel in grace and majesty: this will teach him to look for it in nature, and industry will give him the power of expressing it on canvass. R.

Note XXXIII. Verse 315.

Thy last, thy noblest task remains untold,
Passion to paint, and sentiment unfold.

This is truly the noblest task, and is the finishing of the fabric of the art: to attempt this summit of excellence, without having first laid the foundation of habitual correctness, may indeed be said to build castles in the air.

Every part which goes to the composition of a picture, even inanimate objects, are capable, to a certain degree, of conveying sentiment, and contribute their share to the general purpose of striking the imagination of the spectator. The disposition of light, or the folding of drapery, will give sometimes a general air of grandeur to the whole work. R.

Note XXXIV. Verse 325.

By tedious toil no passions are exprest,
His hand who feels them strongest paints them best.

A painter, whatever he may feel, will not be able to express it on canvass, without having recourse to a recollection of those principles by which the passion required is expressed. The mind thus occupied, is not likely at the same time to be possessed with the passion which he is representing. An image may be ludicrous, and in its first conception make the painter laugh as well as the spectator; but the difficulty of his art makes the painter, in the course of his work, equally grave and serious, whether he is employed on the most ludicrous, or the most solemn subject.

However, we may, without great violence, suppose this rule to mean no more, than that a sensibility is required in the artist, so that he should be capable of conceiving the passion properly before he sets about representing it on canvass. R.

Note XXXV. Verse 325.

By tedious toil no passions are exprest,
His hand who feels them strongest paints them best.

"The two verses of the text, notwithstanding the air of antiquity which they appear to have, seem most probably to be the Author's own," says the late French editor: but I suppose, as I did on a similar adage before, that the thought is taken from antiquity. With respect to my translation, I beg leave to intimate, that by feeling the passions strongest, I do not mean that a passionate man will make the best painter of the passions, but he who has the clearest conception of them, that is, who feels their effect on the countenance of other men, as in great actors on the stage, and in persons in real life strongly agitated by them: perhaps my translation would have been clearer and more consonant with the above judicious explication of Sir Joshua Reynolds, if it had run thus:

He who conceives them strongest paints them best.

M.

Note XXXVI. Verse 348.

Full late awoke, the ceaseless tear to shed
For perish'd Art;—

The later French editor, who has modernized the style of Du Piles's translation, says here, that "he has taken the liberty to soften this passage, and has translated *Nil superest*, by *presque rien*, instead of Du Piles's

version, *Il ne nous a rien resté de leur peinture,* being authorised to make this change by the late discoveries of ancient painting at Herculaneum;" but I scarce think that, by these discoveries, we have retrieved any thing of ancient *colouring*, which is the matter here in question, therefore I have given my translation that turn. M.

Note XXXVII. Verse 349.

——————for those celestial hues,
Which Zeuxis, aided by the Attic Muse,
Gave to the wond'ring eye:——

From the various ancient paintings which have come down to us, we may form a judgment with tolerable accuracy of the excellencies and the defects of the art amongst the ancients.

There can be no doubt, but that the same correctness of design was required from the painter as from the sculptor; as if what has happened in the case of sculpture, had likewise happened in regard to their paintings, and we had the good fortune to possess what the ancients themselves esteemed their master-pieces, I have no doubt but we should find their figures as correctly drawn as the Laocoon, and probably coloured like Titian. What disposes me to think higher of their colouring than any remains of ancient painting will warrant, is the account which Pliny gives of the mode of operation used by Apelles;—that over his finished picture he spread a transparent liquid like ink, of which the effect

was to give brilliancy, and at the same time to lower the too great glare of the colour: "*Quod absoluta opera "atramento illinebat ita tenui, ut id ipsum repercussu "claritates colorum excitaret;—et cum ratione magna, "ne colorum claritas oculorum aciem offenderet.*" This passage, though it may possibly perplex the critics, is a true and an artist-like description of the effect of glazing or scumbling, such as was practised by Titian and the rest of the Venetian painters. This custom, or mode of operation, implies at least a true taste of that in which the excellence of colouring consists: which does not proceed from fine colours, but true colours; from breaking down these fine colours which would appear too raw, to a deep-toned brightness. Perhaps the manner in which Correggio practised the art of glazing was still more like that of Apelles, which was only perceptible to those who looked close to the picture *ad manum intuenti demum appareret:* whereas, in Titian, and still more in Bassan and others, his imitators, it was apparent on the slightest inspection. Artists, who may not approve of glazing, must still acknowledge, that this practice is not that of ignorance.

Another circumstance, that tends to prejudice me in favour of their colouring, is the account we have of some of their principal painters using but four colours only. I am convinced the fewer the colours the cleaner will be the effect of those colours, and that four are sufficient to make every combination required. Two colours mixed

together will not preserve the brightness of either of them single, nor will three be as bright as two; of this observation, simple as it is, an Artist, who wishes to colour bright, will know the value.

In regard to their power of giving peculiar expression, no correct judgment can be formed; but we cannot well suppose that men who were capable of giving that general grandeur of character which so eminently distinguishes their works in sculpture, were incapable of expressing peculiar passions.

As to the enthusiastic commendations bestowed on them by their contemporaries, I consider them as of no weight. The best words are always employed to praise the best works; admiration often proceeds from ignorance of higher excellence. What they appear to have most failed in is composition, both in regard to the grouping of their figures, and the art of disposing the light and shadow in masses. It is apparent that this, which makes so considerable a part of modern art, was to them totally unknown.

If the great painters had possessed this excellence, some portion of it would have infallibly been diffused, and have been discoverable in the works of the inferior rank of artists, such as those whose works have come down to us, and which may be considered as on the same rank with the paintings that ornament our public gardens. Supposing our modern pictures of this rank only were preserved for the inspection of connoisseurs

two thousand years hence, the general principles of composition would be still discoverable in those pieces: however feebly executed, there would be seen an attempt to an union of the figure with its ground, and some idea of disposing both the figures and the lights in groups. Now, as nothing of this appears in what we have of ancient painting, we may conclude that this part of the art was totally neglected, or, more probably, unknown.

They might, however, have produced single figures which approached perfection both in drawing and colouring; they might excel in a *sólo*, (in the language of musicians,) though they were probably incapable of composing a full piece for a concert of different instruments.

R.

Note XXXVIII. Verse 419.

Permit not two conspicuous lights to shine
With rival radiance in the same design.

The same right judgment which proscribes two equal lights, forbids any two objects to be introduced of equal magnitude or force, so as to appear to be competitors for the attention of the spectator. This is common; but I do not think it quite so common, to extend the rule so far as it ought to be extended: even in colours, whether of the warm or cold kind, there should be one of each which should be apparently principal, and predominate over the rest. It must be observed, even in drapery; two folds of the same drapery must not be of equal magnitude.

R.

Note XXXIX. Verse 421.

But yield to one alone the power to blaze,
And spread the extensive vigour of its rays.

Rembrandt frequently practised this rule to a degree of affectation, by allowing but one mass of light; but the Venetian painters, and Rubens, who extracted his principles from their works, admitted many subordinate lights.

The same rules which have been given in regard to the regulation of groups of figures, must be observed in regard to the grouping of lights; that there shall be a superiority of one over the rest, that they shall be separated, and varied in their shapes, and that there should be at least three lights; the secondary lights ought, for the sake of harmony and union, to be of nearly equal brightness, though not of equal magnitude with the principal.

The Dutch painters particularly excelled in the management of light and shade, and have shown, in this department, that consummate skill which entirely conceals the appearance of art.

Jan Steen, Teniers, Ostade, Du Sart, and many others of that School, may be produced as instances, and recommended to the young Artist's careful study and attention.

The means by which the Painter works, and on which the effect of his picture depends, are light and shade, warm and cold colours. That there is an art in the

management and disposition of those means will be easily granted, and it is equally certain, that this art is to be acquired by a careful examination of the works of those who have excelled in it.

I shall here set down the result of the observations which I have made on the works of those artists who appear to have best understood the management of light and shade, and who may be considered as examples for imitation in this branch of the art.

Titian, Paul Veronese, and Tintoret, were among the first painters who reduced to a system what was before practised without any fixed principle, and consequently neglected occasionally. From the Venetian painters, Rubens extracted his scheme of composition, which was soon understood and adopted by his countrymen, and extended even to the minor painters of familiar life in the Dutch School.

When I was at Venice, the method I took to avail myself of their principles was this. When I observed an extraordinary effect of light and shade in any picture, I took a leaf of my pocket-book, and darkened every part of it in the same gradation of light and shade as the picture, leaving the white paper untouched to represent the light, and this without any attention to the subject, or to the drawing of the figures. A few trials of this kind will be sufficient to give the method of their conduct in the management of their lights. After a few experiments I found the paper blotted nearly alike: their

general practice appeared to be, to allow not above a quarter of the picture for the light, including in this portion both the principal and secondary lights; another quarter to be as dark as possible; and the remaining half kept in mezzotint, or half shadow.

Rubens appears to have admitted rather more light than a quarter, and Rembrandt much less, scarce an eighth; by this conduct Rembrandt's light is extremely brilliant, but it costs too much; the rest of the picture is sacrificed to this one object. That light will certainly appear the brightest which is surrounded with the greatest quantity of shade, supposing equal skill in the Artist.

By this means you may likewise remark the various forms and shapes of those lights, as well as the objects on which they are flung; whether a figure, or the sky, a white napkin, animals, or utensils, often introduced for this purpose only. It may be observed likewise, what portion is strongly relieved, and how much is united with its ground; for it is necessary that some part (though a small one is sufficient) should be sharp and cutting against its ground, whether it be light on a dark, or dark on a light ground, in order to give firmness and distinctness to the work; if, on the other hand, it is relieved on every side, it will appear as if inlaid on its ground. Such a blotted paper, held at a distance from the eye, will strike the spectator as something excellent for the disposition of light and shadow, though he does

not distinguish whether it is a history, a portrait, a landscape, dead game, or any thing else; for the same principles extend to every branch of the art.

Whether I have given an exact account, or made a just division of the quantity of light admitted into the works of those painters, is of no very great consequence: let every person examine and judge for himself: it will be sufficient if I have suggested a mode of examining pictures this way, and one means at least of acquiring the principles on which they wrought. R.

Note XL. Verse 441.

Then only justly spread, when to the sight
A breadth of shade pursues a breadth of light.

The highest finishing is labour in vain, unless, at the same time, there be preserved a breadth of light and shadow; it is a quality, therefore, that is more frequently recommended to students, and insisted upon, than any other whatever; and, perhaps, for this reason, because it is most apt to be neglected, the attention of the artist being so often entirely absorbed in the detail.

To illustrate this, we may have recourse to Titian's bunch of grapes, which we will suppose placed so as to receive a broad light and shadow. Here, though each individual grape on the light side has its light, and shadow, and reflexion, yet altogether they make but one broad mass of light: the slightest sketch, therefore where this breadth is preserved, will have a better

effect, will have more the appearance of coming from a master-hand, that is, in other words, will have more the characteristic and *generale* of nature, than the most laborious finishing, where this breadth is lost or neglected. R.

Note XLI. Verse 469.

Which mildly mixing, every social dye
Unites the whole in loveliest harmony.

The same method may be used to acquire that harmonious effect of colours, which was recommended for the acquisition of light and shade, the adding colours to the darkened paper; but as those are not always at hand, it may be sufficient, if the picture which you think worthy of imitating be considered in this light, to ascertain the quantity of warm, and the quantity of cold colours.

The predominant colours of the picture ought to be of a warm mellow kind, red or yellow; and no more cold colour should be introduced than will be just enough to serve as a ground or foil to set off and give value to the mellow colours, and never should itself be a principal; for this purpose a quarter of the picture will be sufficient; those cold colours, whether blue, grey, or green, are to be dispersed about the ground or surrounding parts of the picture, wherever it has the appearance of wanting such a foil, but sparingly employed in the masses of light.

I am confident that an habitual examination of the

works of those painters who have excelled in harmony, will, by degrees, give a correctness of eye that will revolt at discordant colours, as a musician's ear revolts at discordant sounds. R.

Note XLII. Verse 517.

By mellowing skill thy ground at distance cast,
Free as the air, and transient as its blast.

By a story told of Rubens, we have his authority for asserting, that to the effect of the picture the back-ground is of the greatest consequence.

Rubens being desired to take under his instruction a young painter, the person who recommended him, in order to induce Rubens the more readily to take him, said, that he was already somewhat advanced in the art, and that he would be of immediate assistance in his back-grounds. Rubens smiled at his simplicity, and told him, that if the youth was capable of painting his back-grounds, he stood in no need of his instructions; that the regulation and management of them required the most comprehensive knowledge of the art. This painters know to be no exaggerated account of a back-ground, being fully apprised how much the effect of the picture depends upon it.

It must be in union with the figure, so as not to have the appearance of being inlaid, like Holbein's portraits, which are often on a bright green or blue ground. To prevent this effect, the ground must partake of the

colour of the figure; or, as expressed in a subsequent line, receive all the treasures of the palette. The back-ground regulates likewise where and in what part the figure is to be relieved. When the form is beautiful, it is to be seen distinctly; when, on the contrary, it is uncouth or too angular, it may be lost in the ground. Sometimes a light is introduced in order to join and extend the light on the figure, and the dark side of the figure is lost in a still darker back-grounnd; for the fewer the outlines are which cut against the ground, the richer will be the effect; as the contrary produces what is called the dry manner.

One of the arts of supplying the defect of a scantiness of dress by means of the back-ground, may be observed in a whole length portrait by Vandyck, which is in the cabinet of the Duke of Montagu; the dress of this figure would have had an ungraceful effect; he has, therefore, by means of a light back-ground opposed to the light of the figure, and by the help of a curtain that catches the light near the figure, made the effect of the whole together full and rich to the eye. R.

Note XLIII. Ver. 523.

The hand that colours well, must colour bright;
Hope not that praise to gain by sickly white.

All the modes of harmony, or of producing that effect of colours which is required in a picture, may be reduced

to three; two of which belong to the grand style, and the other to the ornamental.

The first may be called the Roman manner, where the colours are of a full and strong body, such as are found in the Transfiguration: the next is that harmony which is produced by what the antients called the *corruption* of the colours, by mixing and breaking them till there is a general union in the whole, without any thing that shall bring to your remembrance the Painter's palette, or the original colours; this may be called the Bolognian style, and it is this hue and effect of colours which Lodovico Carracci seems to have endeavoured to produce, though he did not carry it to that perfection which we have seen since his time in the small works of the Dutch School, particularly Jan Steen; where art is completely concealed, and the Painter, like a great Orator, never draws the attention from the subject on himself.

The last manner belongs properly to the ornamental style, which we call the Venetian, being first practised at Venice, but is perhaps better learned from Rubens; here the brightest colours possible are admitted, with the two extremes of warm and cold, and those reconciled by being dispersed over the picture, till the whole appears like a bunch of flowers.

As I have given instances from the Dutch School, where the art of breaking colour may be learned, we

may recommend here an attention to the works of Watteau for excellence in this florid style of painting.

To all these different manners, there are some general rules that must never be neglected. First, that the same colour which makes the largest mass, be diffused, and appear to revive in different parts of the picture: for a single colour will make a spot or blot. Even the dispersed flesh-colour, which the faces and hands make, requires a principal mass, which is best produced by a naked figure; but where the subject will not allow of this, a drapery approaching to flesh-colour will answer the purpose; as in the Transfiguration, where a woman is clothed in drapery of this colour, which makes a principal to all the heads and hands of the picture; and for the sake of harmony, the colours, however distinguished in their light, should be nearly the same in their shadows; of a

——— "simple unity of shade,
"As all were from one single palette spread."

And to give the utmost force, strength, and solidity to the work, some part of the picture should be as light and some as dark as possible; these two extremes are then to be harmonised and reconciled to each other.

Instances where both of them are used, may be observed in two pictures of Rubens, which are equally eminent for the force and brilliancy of their effect: one is in the cabinet of the Duke of Rutland, and the other in the chapel of Rubens at Antwerp, which serves as his

monument. In both these pictures he has introduced a female figure dressed in black satin, the shadows of which are as dark as pure black, opposed to the contrary extreme of brightness, can make them.

If to these different manners we add one more, that in which a silver-grey, or pearly tint, is predominant, I believe every kind of harmony that can be produced by colours will be comprehended. One of the greatest examples in this mode is the famous marriage at Cana, in St. George's church at Venice; where the sky, which makes a very considerable part of the picture, is of the lightest blue colour, and the clouds perfectly white; the rest of the picture is in the same key, wrought from this high pitch. We see likewise many pictures of Guido in this tint: and indeed those that are so, are in his best manner. Female figures, angels, and children, were the subjects in which Guido more particularly succeeded; and to such, the cleanness and neatness of this tint perfectly corresponds, and contributes not a little to that exquisite beauty and delicacy which so much distinguishes his works. To see this style in perfection, we must again have recourse to the Dutch School, particularly to the works of the younger Vandervelde, and the younger Teniers, whose pictures are valued by the connoisseurs in proportion as they possess this excellence of a silver tint. Which of these different styles ought to be preferred, so as to meet every man's idea, would be difficult to determine, from the predilec-

tion which every man has to that mode which is practised by the School in which he has been educated; but if any pre-eminence is to be given, it must be to that manner, which stands in the highest estimation with mankind in general, and that is the Venetian, or rather the manner of Titian; which, simply considered as producing an effect of colours, will certainly eclipse with its splendour whatever is brought into competition with it. But, as I hinted before, if female delicacy and beauty be the principal object of the Painter's aim, the purity and clearness of the tint of Guido will correspond better, and more contribute to produce it than even the glowing tint of Titian.

The rarity of excellence in any of these styles of colouring sufficiently shows the difficulty of succeeding in them. It may be worth the Artist's attention, while he is in this pursuit, particularly to guard against those errors which seem to be annexed to, or divided by, thin partitions from their neighbouring excellence. Thus, when he is endeavouring to acquire the Roman style, if he is not extremely careful, he falls into a hard and dry manner. The flowery colouring is nearly allied to the gaudy effect of fan-painting. The simplicity of the Bolognian style requires the nicest hand to preserve it from insipidity. That of Titian, which may be called the golden manner, when unskilfully managed, becomes what the painters call Foxy; and the silver degenerates into the leaden and heavy manner. None of them, to

be perfect in their way, will bear any union with each other: if they are not distinctly separated, the effect of the picture will be feeble and insipid, without any mark or distinguished character. R.

Note XLIV. Verse 537.

On that high-finish'd form let paint bestow
Her midnight shadow, her meridian glow.

It is indeed a rule adopted by many Painters to admit in no part of the back-ground, or on any object in the picture, shadows of equal strength with those which are employed on the principal figure; but this produces a false representation. With deference to our author, to have the strong light and shadow there alone, is not to produce the best natural effect; nor is it authorised by the practice of those Painters who are most distinguished for harmony of colouring: a conduct, therefore, totally contrary to this is absolutely necessary, that the same strength, the same tone of colour, should be diffused over the whole picture.

I am no enemy to dark shadows. The general deficiency to be observed in the works of the Painters of the last age, as well as, indeed, of many of the present, is a feebleness of effect; they seem to be too much afraid of those *midnight* shadows, which alone give the power of Nature, and without which a picture will appear like one wholly wanting solidity and strength. The lightest and gayest style requires this foil to give it force and brilliancy.

There is another fault prevalent in the modern Painters, —the predominance of a grey leaden colour over the whole picture: this is more particularly to be remarked when their works hang in the same room with pictures well and powerfully coloured. These two deficiencies, the want of strength, and the want of mellowness or warmth, are often imputed to the want of materials: as if we had not such good colours as those painters whose works we so much admire! R.

Note XLV. Verse 579.

Know, he that well begins has half achiev'd
His destin'd work.——

Those masters are the best models to begin with, who have the fewest faults, and who are the most regular in the conduct of their work. The first studies ought rather to be made on their performances than on the productions of eccentric genius: where striking beauties are mixed with great defects, the student will be in danger of mistaking blemishes for beauties, and perhaps the beauties may be such as he is not advanced enough to attempt. R.

Note XLVI. Verse 584.

——— his erroneous lines
Will to the soul that poison rank convey,
Which life's best length shall fail to purge away.

Taste will be unavoidably regulated by what is continually before the eyes. It were therefore well if young

students could be debarred the sight of any works that were not free from gross faults, till they had well formed, and, as I may say, hardened their judgment: they might then be permitted to look about them, not only without fear of vitiating their taste, but even with advantage; and would often find great ingenuity and extraordinary invention in works which are under the influence of a bad taste. R.

Note XLVII. Verse 601.

As surely charms that voluntary style,
Which careless plays, and seems to mock at toil.

This appearance of ease and facility may be called the grace or genius of the mechanical or executive part of the art. There is undoubtedly something fascinating in seeing that done with careless ease, which others do with laborious difficulty: the spectator unavoidably, by a kind of natural instinct, feels that general animation with which the hand of the Artist seems to be inspired.

Of all painters Rubens appears to claim the first rank for facility, both in the invention and in the execution of his work; it makes so great a part of his excellence, that if we take it away, half at least of his reputation will go with it. R.

Note XLVIII. Verse 617.

The eye each obvious error swift descries;
Hold then the compass only in the eyes.

A Painter who relies on his compass, leans on a prop which will not support him: there are few parts of his

figures but what are fore-shortened more or less, and cannot, therefore, be drawn or corrected by measures. Though he begins his studies with the compass in his hand, as we learn a dead language by grammar, yet, after a certain time, they are both flung aside, and in their place a kind of mechanical correctness of the eye and ear is substituted, which operates without any conscious effort of the mind. R.

Note XLIX. Verse 619.

Give to the dictates of the learn'd respect.

There are few spectators of a Painter's work, learned or unlearned, who, if they can be induced to speak their real sensations, would not be profitable to the Artist. The only opinions of which no use can be made, are those of half-learned connoisseurs, who have quitted nature and have not acquired art. That same sagacity which makes a man excel in his profession must assist him in the proper use to be made of the judgment of the learned, and the opinions of the vulgar. Of many things the vulgar are as competent judges as the most learned connoisseur; of the portrait, for instance, of an animal; or, perhaps, of the truth of the representations of some vulgar passions.

It must be expected that the untaught vulgar will carry with them the same want of right taste in the judgment they make of the effect or character in a picture as they do in life, and prefer a strutting figure and gaudy colours

to the grandeur of simplicity; but if this same vulgar person, or even an infant, should mistake for dirt what was intended to be a shade, it might be apprehended that the shadow was not the true colour of nature, with almost as much certainty as if the observation had been made by the most able connoisseur. R.

Note L. Verse 708.

Know that ere perfect taste matures the mind,
Or perfect practice to that taste be join'd,—

However admirable his taste may be, he is but half a Painter who can only conceive his subject, and is without knowledge of the mechanical part of his art; as, on the other hand, his skill may be said to be thrown away, who has employed his colours on subjects that create no interest from their beauty, their character, or expression. One part often absorbs the whole mind, to the neglect of the rest: the young students, whilst at Rome, studying the works of Michael Angelo and Raffaelle, are apt to lose all relish for any kind of excellence, except what is found in their works. Perhaps going afterwards to Venice they may be induced to think there are other things required, and that nothing but the most superlative excellence in design, character, and dignity of style, can atone for a deficiency in the ornamental graces of the art. Excellence must of course be rare; and one of the causes of its rarity, is the necessity of uniting qualities which in their nature are contrary to each other; and yet

no approaches can be made towards perfection without it. Every art or profession requires this union of contrary qualities, like the harmony of colouring, which is produced by an opposition of hot and cold hues. The Poet and the Painter must unite to the warmth that accompanies a poetical imagination, patience and perseverance: the one in counting syllables and toiling for a rhyme, and the other in labouring the minute parts, and finishing the detail of his works, in order to produce the great effect he desires: they must both possess a comprehensive mind that takes in the whole at one view, and at the same time an accuracy of eye or mind that distinguishes between two things that, to an ordinary spectator, appear the same, whether this consists in tints or words, or the nice discrimination on which expression and elegance depend. R.

Note LI. Verse 715.

While free from prejudice your active eye
Preserves its first unsullied purity.

Prejudice is generally used in a bad sense, to imply a predilection, not founded on reason or nature, in favour of a particular master, or a particular manner, and therefore ought to be opposed with all our force; but totally to eradicate in advanced age what has so much assisted us in our youth, is a point to which we cannot hope to arrive. The difficulty of conquering this prejudice is to

be considered in the number of those causes which makes excellence so very rare.

Whoever would make a happy progress in any art or science, must begin by having great confidence in, and even prejudice in favour of, his instructor; but to continue to think him infallible, would be continuing for ever in a state of infancy.

It is impossible to draw a line when the Artist shall begin to dare to examine and criticise the works of his master, or of the greatest master-pieces of art; we can only say, that his progress to this capacity will be gradual. In proportion as the scholar learns to analyse the excellence of the masters he esteems,—in proportion as he comes *exactly* to distinguish in what that excellence consists, and refer it to some precise rule and fixed standard, in that proportion he becomes free. When he has once laid hold of their *principle*, he will see when they deviate from it, or fail to come up to it; so that it is in reality through his extreme admiration of, and blind deference to, these masters, (without which he never would have employed an intense application to discover the rule and scheme of their works,) that he is enabled, if I may use the expression, to emancipate himself, even to get above them, and to become the judge of those of whom he was at first the humble disciple.

R.

Note LII. Verse 721.

When duly taught each geometric rule,
Approach with awful step the Grecian school.

The first business of the student is to be able to give a true representation of whatever object presents itself, just as it appears to the eye, so as to amount to a deception; and the geometric rules of perspective are included in this study. This is the language of the art; which appears the more necessary to be taught early, from the natural repugnance which the mind has to such mechanical labour, after it has acquired a relish for its higher departments.

The next step is to acquire a knowledge of the beauty of form; for this purpose he is recommended to the study of the Grecian sculpture; and for composition, colouring, and expression to the great works at Rome, Venice, Parma, and Bologna; he begins now to look for those excellencies which address themselves to the imagination, and considers deception as a scaffolding to be now thrown aside, as of no importance to this finished fabric. R.

Note LIII. Verse 725.

No rest, no pause, till, all her graces known,
A happy habit makes each grace your own.

To acquire this excellence, something more is required than measuring statues or copying pictures.

I am confident the works of the ancient sculptors were produced, not by measuring, but in consequence of that

correctness of eye which they had acquired by long habit, which served them at all times, and on all occasions, when the compass would fail. There is no reason why the eye should not be capable of acquiring equal precision and exactness with the organs of hearing or speaking. We know that an infant, who has learned its language by habit, will sometimes correct the most learned grammarian who has been taught by rule only; the idiom, which is the peculiarity of language, and that in which its native grace is seated, can be learned by habit alone.

To possess this perfect habit, the same conduct is necessary in art as in language, that it should be begun early, whilst the organs are pliable and impressions are easily taken, and that we should accustom ourselves, while this habit is forming, to see beauty only, and avoid as much as possible deformity, or what is incorrect. Whatever is got this way may be said to be properly made our own; it becomes a part of ourselves, and operates unperceived. The mind acquires by such exercise a kind of instinctive rectitude which supersedes all rules. R.

Note LIV. Verse 733.

See Raffaelle there his forms celestial trace,
Unrivall'd Sovereign of the realms of Grace.

The pre-eminence which Fresnoy has given to those three great painters, Raffaelle, Michael Angelo, and Julio Romano, sufficiently points out to us what ought

to be the chief object of our pursuit. Though two of them were either totally ignorant of, or never practised any of those graces of the art which proceed from the management of colours, or the disposition of light and shadow, and the other (Raffaelle) was far from being eminently skilful in these particulars, yet they all justly deserve that high rank in which Fresnoy has placed them; Michael Angelo, for the grandeur and sublimity of his characters, as well as for his profound knowledge of design; Raffaelle, for the judicious arrangement of his materials, for the grace, the dignity, and the expression of his characters; and Julio Romano, for possessing the true poetical genius of painting, perhaps, in a higher degree than any other painter whatever.

In heroic subjects it will not, I hope, appear too great a refinement of criticism to say, that the want of naturalness, or deception of the art, which give to an inferior style its whole value, is no material disadvantage: the Hours, for instance, as represented by Julio Romano, giving provender to the horses of the Sun, would not strike the imagination more forcibly from their being coloured with the pencil of Rubens, though he would have represented them more naturally: but might he not possibly, by that very act, have brought them down from the celestial state to the rank of mere terrestrial animals? In these things, however, I admit there will always be a degree of uncertainty. Who knows that Julio Romano, if he had possessed the art and practice

of colouring like Rubens, would not have given to it some taste of poetical grandeur not yet attained to? The same familiar naturalness would be equally an imperfection in characters which are to be represented as demigods, or something above humanity.

Though it would be far from an addition to the merit of those two great Painters to have made their works deceptions, yet there can be no reason why they might not, in some degree, and with a judicious caution and selection, have availed themselves of many excellencies which are found in the Venetian, Flemish, and even Dutch Schools, and which have been inculcated in this poem. There are some of them which are not in absolute contradiction to any style: the happy disposition, for instance, of light and shade; the preservation of breadth in the masses of colours; the union of these with their grounds; and the harmony arising from a due mixture of hot and cold hues, with many other excellencies, not inseparably connected with that individuality which produces deception, would surely not counteract the effect of the grand style; they would only contribute to the ease of the spectator, by making the vehicle pleasing by which ideas are conveyed to the mind, which otherwise might be perplexed and bewildered with a confused assemblage of objects; they would add a certain degree of grace and sweetness to strength and grandeur. Though the merits of those two great Painters are of such transcendency, as to make us over-

look their deficiency, yet a subdued attention to these inferior excellencies must be added, to complete the idea of a perfect Painter.

Deception, which is so often recommended by writers on the theory of painting, instead of advancing the art is in reality carrying it back to its infant state: the first essays of painting were certainly nothing but mere imitation of individual objects, and when this amounted to a deception, the Artist had accomplished his purpose.

And here I must observe, that the arts of Painting and Poetry seem to have no kind of resemblance in their early stages. The first, or at least the second stage of Poetry in every nation, is removed as far as possible from common life: every thing is of the marvellous kind; it treats only of heroes, wars, ghosts, enchantments, and transformations: the Poet could not expect to seize and captivate the attention, if he related only common occurrences, such as every day produces. Whereas the Painter exhibited what then appeared a great effort of art, by merely giving the appearance of relief to a flat superficies, however uninteresting in itself that object might be; but this soon satiating, the same entertainment was required from Painting which had been experienced in Poetry. The mind and imagination were to be satisfied, and required to be amused and delighted, as well as the eye; and when the art proceeded to a still higher degree of excellence, it was then found that this deception not only did not assist, but even in a certain

degree counteracted the flight of imagination: hence proceeded the Roman School; and it is from hence that Raffaelle, Michael Angelo, and Julio Romano stand in that pre-eminence of rank in which Fresnoy has justly placed them. R.

Note LV. Verse 747.

Bright, beyond all the rest, Correggio flings
His ample lights, and round them gently brings
The mingling shade.——

The excellency of Correggio's manner has justly been admired by all succeeding painters. This manner is in direct opposition to what is called the dry and hard manner which preceded him.

His colour, and his mode of finishing, approach nearer to perfection than those of any other painter: the gliding motion of his outline, and the sweetness with which it melts into the ground; the cleanness and transparency of his colouring, which stop at that exact medium in which the purity and perfection of taste lies, leave nothing to be wished for. Baroccio, though, upon the whole, one of his most successful imitators, yet sometimes, in endeavouring at cleanness or brilliancy of tint, overshot the mark, and falls under the criticism that was made on an ancient Painter, that his figures looked as if they fed upon roses. R.

Note LVI. Ver. 767.

Yet more than these to Meditation's eyes
Great Nature's self redundantly supplies.

Fresnoy, with great propriety, begins and finishes his Poem with recommending the study of Nature.

This is, in reality, the beginning and the end of theory. It is in Nature only we can find that beauty which is the great object of our search: it can be found no where else: we can no more form any idea of beauty superior to Nature than we can form an idea of a sixth sense, or any other excellence out of the limits of the human mind. We are forced to confine our conception even of heaven itself, and its inhabitants, to what we see in this world; even the Supreme Being, if he is represented at all, the Painter has no other way of representing than by reversing the decree of the inspired law-giver, and making God after his own image.

Nothing can be so unphilosophical as a supposition that we can form any idea of beauty or excellence out of or beyond Nature, which is and must be the fountain-head from whence all our ideas must be derived.

This being acknowledged, it must follow, of course, that all the rules which this theory, or any other, teaches, can be no more than teaching the art of *seeing* Nature. The rules of art are formed on the various works of those who have studied Nature the most successfully: by this advantage, of observing the various manners in

which various minds have contemplated her works, the artist enlarges his own views, and is taught to look for and see what otherwise would have escaped his observation.

It is to be remarked, that there are two modes of imitating nature; one of which refers for its truth to the sensations of the mind, and the other to the eye.

Some Schools, such as the Roman and Florentine, appear to have addressed themselves principally to the mind, others solely to the eye, such as the Venetian in the instances of Paul Veronese and Tintoret: others again have endeavoured to unite both, by joining the elegance and grace of ornament with the strength and vigour of design; such are the Schools of Bologna and Parma.

All those Schools are equally to be considered as followers of nature. He who produces a work analogous to the mind or imagination of man, is as natural a painter as he whose works are calculated to delight the eye; the works of Michael Angelo, or Julio Romano, in this sense, may be said to be as natural as those of the Dutch painters. The study, therefore, of the nature or affections of the mind is as necessary to the theory of the higher department of the art, as the knowledge of what will be pleasing or offensive to the eye, is to the lower style.

What relates to the mind or imagination, such as invention, character, expression, grace, or grandeur, certainly cannot be taught by rules; little more can be

done than pointing out where they are to be found; it is a part which belongs to general education, and will operate in proportion to the cultivation of the mind of the Artist.

The greater part of the rules in this Poem are, therefore, necessarily confined to what relates to the eye; and it may be remarked, that none of those rules make any pretensions towards improving Nature, or going contrary to her work: their tendency is merely to show what is truly Nature.

Thus, for instance, a flowing outline is recommended, because beauty (which alone is Nature) cannot be produced without it; old age, or leanness, produces straight lines; corpulency round lines; but in a state of health, accompanying youth, the outlines are waving, flowing, and serpentine. Thus again, if we are told to avoid the chalk, the brick, or the leaden colour, it is because real flesh never partakes of those hues, though ill-coloured pictures are always inclinable to one or other of those defects.

Rules are to be considered likewise as fences placed only where trespass is expected; and are particularly enforced in proportion as peculiar faults or defects are prevalent at the time, or age, in which they are delivered; for what may be proper strongly to recommend or enforce in one age, may not with equal propriety be so much laboured in another, when it may be the fashion for Artists to run into the contrary extreme, proceeding from

prejudice to a manner adopted by some favourite Painter then in vogue.

When it is recommended to preserve a breadth of colour or of light, it is not intended that the Artist is to work broader than Nature; but this lesson is insisted on because we know, from experience, that the contrary is a fault which Artists are apt to be guilty of; who, when they are examining and finishing the detail, neglect or forget that breadth which is observable only when the eye takes in the effect of the whole.

Thus again, we recommend to paint soft and tender, to make a harmony and union of colouring; and for this end, that all the shadows shall be nearly of the same colour. The reason of these precepts being at all enforced, proceeds from the disposition which Artists have to paint harder than Nature, to make the outline more cutting against the ground, and to have less harmony and union than is found in Nature, preserving the same brightness of colour in the shadows as are seen in the lights: both these false manners of representing Nature were the practice of the Painters when the art was in its infancy, and would be the practice now of every student who was left to himself, and had never been taught the art of seeing Nature.

There are other rules which may be said not so much to relate to the objects represented as to the eye; but the truth of these are as much fixed in Nature as the others, and proceed from the necessity there is that the work should be seen with ease and satisfaction: to this end are

all the rules that relate to grouping and the disposition of light and shade.

With regard to precepts about *moderation*, and avoiding extremes, little is to be drawn from them. The rule would be too minute that had any exactness at all: a multiplicity of exceptions would arise, so that the teacher would be for ever saying too much, and yet never enough. When a student is instructed to mark with precision every part of his figure, whether it be naked, or in drapery, he probably becomes hard; if, on the contrary, he is told to paint in the most tender manner, possibly he becomes insipid. But among extremes some are more tolerable than others; of the two extremes I have just mentioned, the hard manner is the most pardonable, carrying with it an air of learning, as if the Artist knew with precision the true form of Nature, though he had rendered it with too heavy a hand.

In every part of the human figure, when not spoiled by too great corpulency, will be found this distinctness, the parts never appearing uncertain or confused, or, as a musician would say, slurred; and all those smaller parts which are comprehended in the larger compartment are still to be there, however tenderly marked.

To conclude. In all minute, detailed, and practical excellence, *general* precepts must be either deficient or unnecessary: for the rule is not known, nor is it indeed to any purpose a rule, if it be necessary to inculcate it on every occasion. R.

Note LVII. Verse 772.

Whence Art by practice to perfection soars.

After this the Poet says, that he passes over in silence many things which will be more amply treated in his Commentary.

" Multa supersileo quæ Commentaria dicent."

But, as he never lived to write that Commentary, his translator has taken the liberty to pass over this line in silence also. M.

Note LVIII. Verse 776.

What time the pride of Bourbon urg'd his way, &c.

Du Piles, and, after him, Dryden, call this hero Louis XIII. but the later French editor, whom I have before quoted, will needs have him to be the XIV. His note is as follows: " At the accession of Louis XIV., Du Fresnoy had been ten years at Rome, therefore the epoch, marked by the Poet, falls probably upon the first years of that prince; that is to say, upon the years 1643 or 1644. The thunders which he darts on the Alps, allude to the successes of our arms in the Milanese, and in Piedmont: and the Alcides, who is born again in France for the defence of his country, is the conqueror of Rocroy, the young Duke of Anguien, afterwards called Le Grand Condé." I am apt to suspect that all this fine criticism is false, though I do not think it worth while to controvert it. Whether the Poet meant to compliment Louis XIII. or the little boy that succeeded him, (for he

was only six years old in the year 1644,) he was guilty of gross flattery. It is impossible, however, from the construction of the sentence, that Lodovicus Borbonidum Decus, and Gallicus Alcides, could mean any more than one identical person; and consequently the editor's notion concerning the Grand Condé is indisputably false. I have, therefore, taken the whole passage in the same sense that Du Piles did; and have also, like him, used the Poet's phrase of the *Spanish lion* in the concluding line, rather than that of the Spanish Geryon, to which Mr. Dryden has transformed him: his reason, I suppose, for doing this was, that the monster Geryon was of Spanish extraction, and the Nemean lion, which Hercules killed, was of Peloponnesus; but we are told by Martial,* that there was a fountain in Spain called Nemea, which, perhaps, led Fresnoy astray in this passage. However this be, Hercules killed so many lions, besides that which constituted the first of his twelve labours, that either he, or at least some one of his namesakes, may well be supposed to have killed one in Spain. Geryon is described by all the Poets as a man with three heads, and therefore could not well have been called a lion, by Fresnoy; neither does the plural *Ora* mean any more than the *jaws* of a single beast. So Lucan, lib. iv. ver. 739:

* Avidam rigens Dircenna placabit sitim,
Et *Nemea*, quæ vincit nives.
Mart. lib. i. *Epig.* 50 *de Hisp. loc.* M.

Quippe ubi non sonipes motus clangore tubarum
Saxa quatit pulsu, rigidos vexantia frænos
Ora terens—— M.

Note LIX. Verse 785.

But mark the Proteus-policy of state.

If this translation should live as many years as the original has done, already, which by its being printed with that original, and illustrated by such a Commentator, is a thing not impossible, it may not be amiss, in order to prevent an hallucination of some future critic, similar to that of the French editor, mentioned in the last note, to conclude with a memorandum that the translation was finished, and these occasional verses added, in the year 1781; leaving, however, the political sentiments, which they express, to be approved or condemned by him, as the annals of the time (written at a period distant enough for history to become impartial) may determine his judgment.

M.

THE END OF THE NOTES.

The Precepts which Sir JOSHUA REYNOLDS has illustrated, are marked in the following Table with one or more Asterisks, according to the number of his Notes.

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APPENDIX.

The following little piece has been constantly annexed to M. DU FRESNOY's Poem. It is here given from the former Editions: but the liberty has been taken of making some alterations in the Version, which, when compared with the original in French, appeared either to be done very carelessly by Mr. DRYDEN, or (what is more probable) to be the work of some inferior hand which he employed on the occasion. M.

THE

SENTIMENTS

OF

CHARLES ALPHONSE DU FRESNOY,

ON THE WORKS OF

THE PRINCIPAL AND BEST PAINTERS OF THE TWO LAST AGES

1600 AND 1700.

of Julius II.; Leo X.; and of seven successive Popes. He was a Painter, a Sculptor, and an Architect, both civil and military. The choice which he made of his attitudes was not always beautiful or pleasing; his gusto of design was not the finest, nor his outlines the most elegant: the folds of his draperies, and the ornaments of his habits, were neither noble nor graceful. He was not a little fantastical or extravagant in his compositions, he was bold, even to rashness, in taking liberties against the rules of perspective; his colouring is not over true, or very pleasant; he knew not the artifice of light and shadow; but he designed more learnedly, and better understood all the knittings of the bones, and the office and situation of the muscles, than any of the modern Painters. There appears a certain air of greatness and severity in his figures, in both which he has oftentimes succeeded. But above the rest of his excellencies, was his wonderful skill in architecture, wherein he has not only surpassed all the moderns, but even the ancients also; the St. Peter's of Rome, the St. John's of Florence, the Capitol, the Palazzo Farnese, and his own house are sufficient testimonies of it. His disciples were Marcello Venusti, Il Rosso, Georgio Vasari, Fra. Bastiano, (who commonly painted for him,) and many other Florentines.

Pietro Perugino designed with sufficient knowledge of Nature; but he is dry, and his manner little. His disciple was

Raffaelle Santio, who was born on Good-Friday, in the year 1483, and died on Good-Friday, in the year 1520; so that he lived only thirty-seven years complete. He surpassed all modern painters, because he possessed more of the excellent parts of painting than any other: and it is believed that he equalled the ancients, excepting only that he designed not naked bodies with so much learning as Michael Angelo; but his gusto of design is purer, and much better. He painted not with so good, so full, and so graceful a manner as Correggio: nor has he any thing of the contrast of light and shadow, or so strong and free a colouring as Titian; but he had a better disposition in his pieces, without comparison, than either Titian, Correggio, Michael Angelo, or all the rest of the succeeding painters to our days. His choice of attitudes, of heads, of ornaments, the arrangement of his drapery, his manner of designing, his variety, his contrast, his expression were beautiful in perfection; but above all he possessed the graces in so advantageous a manner, that he has never since been equalled by any other. There are portraits (or single figures) of his, which are well executed. He was an admirable architect. He was handsome, well made, civil, and good-natured, never refusing to teach another what he knew himself. He had many scholars: amongst others, Julio Romano, Polydore, Gaudenzio, Giovanni d'Udine, and Michael Coxis. His

graver was Mark Antonio, whose prints are admirable for the correctness of their outlines.

JULIO ROMANO was the most excellent of all Raffaelle's disciples: he had conceptions which were more extraordinary, more profound, and more elevated than even his master himself: he was also a great architect; his gusto was pure and exquisite. He was a great imitator of the ancients, giving a clear testimony in all his productions, that he was desirous to restore to practice the same forms and fabrics which were ancient. He had the good fortune to find great persons, who committed to him the care of edifices, vestibules, and porticoes, all tetrastyles, xistes, theatres, and such other places as are not now in use. He was wonderful in his choice of attitudes. His manner was drier and harder than any of Raffaelle's School. He did not exactly understand either light and shadow, or colouring. He is frequently harsh and ungraceful the folds of his draperies are neither beautiful nor great, easy nor natural, but all of them imaginary, and too like the habits of fantastical comedians. He was well versed in polite learning. His disciples were Pirro Ligorio, (who was admirable for antique buildings, as towns, temples, tombs, and trophies, and the situation of ancient edifices,) Æneas Vico, Bonasone, Georgio Mantuano, and others.

POLYDORE, a disciple of Raffaelle, designed admirably well as to the practical part, having a particular genius

for freezes, as we may see by those of white and black, which he has painted at Rome. He imitated the antients, but his manner was greater than that of Julio Romano; nevertheless Julio seems to be the truer. Some admirable groups are seen in his works, and such as are not elsewhere to be found. He coloured very seldom, and made landscapes in a tolerably good taste.

Gio. Bellino, one of the first who was of any consideration at Venice, painted very drily, according to the manner of his time. He was very knowing both in architecture and perspective. He was Titian's first master; which may easily be observed in the earlier works of that noble disciple; in which we may remark that propriety of colours which his master has observed.

About this time Georgione, the contemporary of Titian, came to excel in portraits, and also in greater works. He first began to make choice of glowing and agreeable colours; the perfection and entire harmony of which were afterwards to be found in Titian's pictures. He dressed his figures wonderfully well: and it may be truly said, that but for him, Titian had never arrived to that height of perfection, which proceeded from the rivalship and jealousy which prevailed between them.

Titian was one of the greatest colourists ever known; he designed with much more ease and practice than Georgione. There are to be seen women and children of his hand, which are admirable both for design and colouring; the gusto of them is delicate, charming, and

noble, with a certain pleasing negligence in the head-dresses, draperies, and ornaments, which are wholly peculiar to himself. As for the figures of men, he has designed them but moderately well: there are even some of his draperies which are mean, and in a little taste. His painting is wonderfully glowing, sweet, and delicate. He drew portraits, which were extremely noble: the attitudes of them being very graceful, grave, diversified, and adorned after a very becoming fashion. No man ever painted landscape in so great a manner, so well coloured, and with such truth of nature. For eight or ten years' space, he copied, with great labour and exactness, whatsoever he undertook; thereby to make himself an easy way, and to establish some general maxims for his future conduct. Besides the excellent gusto which he had in colouring, in which he excelled all mortal men, he perfectly understood how to give every thing those touches which were most suitable and proper to them: such as distinguished them from each other, and which gave the greater spirit, and the most of truth. The pictures which he made in his beginning, and in the declension of his age, are of a dry and mean manner. He lived ninety-nine years. His disciples were Paulo Veronese, Giacomo Tintoret, Giacomo da Ponte Bassano, and his sons.

Paulo Veronese was wonderfully graceful in his airs of women, with great variety of brilliant draperies, and incredible vivacity and ease; nevertheless his composi-

tion is sometimes improper, and his design incorrect: but his colouring, and whatsoever depends on it, is so very charming in his pictures, that it surprises at the first sight, and makes us totally forget those other qualities in which he fails.

TINTORET was the disciple of Titian; great in design and practice, but sometimes also greatly extravagant. He had an admirable genius for painting, but not so great an affection for his art, or patience in the executive part of it, as he had fire and vivacity of nature. He yet has made pictures not inferior in beauty to those of Titian. His composition and decorations are for the most part rude, and his outlines are incorrect; but his colouring, and all that depends upon it, is admirable.

The BASSANS had a more mean and poor gusto in painting than Tintoret, and their designs were also less correct than his. They had indeed an excellent manner of colouring, and have touched all kinds of animals with an admirable hand; but were notoriously imperfect in composition and design.

CORREGGIO painted at Parma two large cupolas in fresco, and some altar-pieces. This artist struck out certain natural and unaffected graces for his Madonnas, his saints, and little children, which were peculiar to himself. His manner, design, and execution are all very great, but yet without correctness. He had a most free and delightful pencil; and it is to be acknowledged,

that he painted with a strength, relief, sweetness, and vivacity of colouring, which nothing ever exceeded. He understood how to distribute his lights in such a manner, as was wholly peculiar to himself, which gave a great force and great roundness to his figures. This manner consists in extending a large light, and then making it lose itself insensibly in the dark shadowings, which he placed out of the masses; and those give them this relief, without our being able to perceive from whence proceeds so much effect, and so vast a pleasure to the sight. It appears, that in this part the rest of the Lombard School copied him. He had no great choice of graceful attitudes, or distribution of beautiful groups. His design oftentimes appears lame, and his positions not well chosen: the look of his figures is often unpleasing; but his manner of designing heads, hands, feet, and other parts, is very great, and well deserves our imitation. In the conduct and finishing of a picture, he has done wonders; for he painted with so much union, that his greatest works seem to have been finished in the compass of one day: and appear as if we saw them in a looking-glass. His landscape is equally beautiful with his figures.

At the same time with Correggio, lived and flourished PARMEGIANO; who, besides his great manner of colouring, excelled also both in invention and design: with a genius full of delicacy and spirit, having nothing that was ungraceful in his choice of attitudes, or in the dresses

of his figures, which we cannot say of Correggio; there are pieces of Parmegiano's very beautiful and correct.

These two Painters last mentioned had very good disciples, but they are known only to those of their own province; and besides, there is little to be credited of what their countrymen say, for Painting is wholly extinguished amongst them.

I say nothing of LEONARDO DA VINCI, because I have seen but little of his: though he restored the arts at Milan, and had there many scholars.

LUDOVICO CARRACCI, the cousin-german of Hannibal and Augustino, studied at Parma after Correggio; and excelled in design and colouring, with a grace and clearness which Guido, the scholar of Hannibal, afterwards imitated with great success. There are some of his pictures to be seen, which are very beautiful, and well understood. He made his ordinary residence at Bologna; and it was he who put the pencil into the hands of Hannibal, his cousin.

HANNIBAL, in a little time, excelled his master in all parts of Painting. He imitated Correggio, Titian, and Raffaelle, in their different manners, as he pleased; excepting only, that you see not in his pictures the nobleness, the graces, and the charms of Raffaelle: and his outlines are neither so pure, nor so elegant as his. In all other things he is wonderfully accomplished, and of an universal genius.

AUGUSTINO, brother to Hannibal, was also a very good

Painter, and an admirable Graver. He had a natural son, called Antonio, who died at the age of thirty-five; and who (according to the general opinion) would have surpassed his uncle Hannibal: for, by what he left behind him, it appears that he was of a more lofty genius.

GUIDO chiefly imitated Ludovico Carracci, yet retained always somewhat of the manner which his master, Denis Calvert, the Fleming, taught him. This Calvert lived at Bologna, and was competitor and rival to Ludovico Carracci. Guido made the same use of Albert Durer as Virgil did of old Ennius, borrowed what pleased him, and made it afterwards his own; that is, he accommodated what was good in Albert to his own manner; which he executed with so much gracefulness and beauty, that he got more money and reputation in his time, than any of his masters, and than all the scholars of the Carraccis, though they were of greater capacity than himself. His heads yield no manner of precedence to those of Raffaelle.

SISTO BADOLOCCHI designed the best of all his disciples; but he died young.

DOMENICHINO was a very knowing Painter, and very laborious, but of no great natural endowments. It is true, he was profoundly skilled in all the parts of Painting, but wanting genius (as I said) he had less of nobleness in his works than all the rest who studied in the school of the Carraccis.

ALBANI was excellent in all parts of Painting, and a polite scholar.

LANDFRANC, a man of a great and sprightly wit, supported his reputation for a long time with an extraordinary gusto of design and colouring: but his foundation being only on the practical part, he at length lost ground in point of correctness, so that many of his pieces appear extravagant and fantastical; and after his decease, the School of the Carraccis went daily to decay, in all the parts of Painting.

GIO. VIOLA was very old before he learned landscape; the knowledge of which was imparted to him by Hannibal Carracci, who took pleasure to instruct him; so that he painted many of that kind, which are wonderfully fine, and well coloured.

If we cast our eyes towards Germany and the Low Countries, we may there behold Albert Durer, Lucas van Leyden, Holbien, Aldegrave, &c. who were all contemporaries. Amongst these, Albert Durer and Holbien were both of them wonderfully knowing, and had certainly been of the first form of Painters, had they travelled into Italy; for nothing can be laid to their charge, but only that they had a Gothic gusto. As for Holbien, his execution surpassed even that of Raffaelle; and I have seen a portrait of his painting, with which one of Titian's could not come in competition.

Amongst the Flemings, appeared RUBENS, who had from his birth, a lively, free, noble, and universal genius: a genius capable not only of raising him to the rank of the antient Painters, but also to the highest employments

in the service of his country; so that he was chosen for one of the most important embassies in our time. His gusto of design savours somewhat more of the Flemish than of the beauty of the antique, because he stayed not long at Rome. And though we cannot but observe in all his Paintings, ideas which are great and noble, yet it must be confessed, that generally speaking, he designed not correctly; but, for all the other parts of Painting, he was as absolute a master of them, and possessed them all as thoroughly as any of his predecessors in that noble art. His principal studies were made in Lombardy, after the works of Titian, Paulo Veronese, and Tintoret, whose cream he has skimmed, (if you will allow the phrase,) and extracted from their several beauties many general maxims and infallible rules, which he always followed, and by which he has acquired in his works a greater facility than that of Titian; more of purity, truth, and science than Paulo Veronese; and more of majesty, repose, and moderation than Tintoret. To conclude; his manner is so solid, so knowing, and so ready, that it may seem this rare accomplished Genius was sent from heaven to instruct mankind in the Art of Painting.

His school was full of admirable disciples; amongst whom VANDYCK was he who best comprehended all the rules and general maxims of his master; and who has even excelled him in the delicacy of his carnations, and in his cabinet-pieces; but his taste, in the designing part, was nothing better than that of Rubens.

THE

PREFACE

OF

MR. DRYDEN TO HIS TRANSLATION,

CONTAINING A PARALLEL BETWEEN

POETRY AND PAINTING.

It was thought proper to insert in this place the pleasing Preface which Mr. DRYDEN printed before his Translation of M. DU FRESNOY's Poem. There is a charm in that great writer's Prose peculiar to itself; and though, perhaps, the parallel between the two Arts, which he has here drawn, be too superficial to stand the test of strict Criticism, yet it will always give pleasure to Readers of Taste, even when it fails to satisfy their judgment. M.

MR. DRYDEN'S

PREFACE:

WITH A PARALLEL OF

POETRY AND PAINTING.

It may be reasonably expected, that I should say something on my behalf, in respect to my present undertaking. First then, the reader may be pleased to know, that it was not of my own choice that I undertook this work. Many of our most skilful Painters, and other Artists, were pleased to recommend this author to me, as one who perfectly understood the rules of Painting; who gave the best and most concise instructions for performance, and the surest to inform the judgment of all who loved this noble art; that they who before were rather fond of it, than knowingly admired it, might defend their inclination by their reason; that they might understand those excellencies which they blindly valued so as not to be farther imposed on by bad pieces, and to know when Nature was well imitated by the most able masters. It is true indeed, and they acknowledge it, that, besides the rules which are given in this treatise, or which can be given in any

other, to make a perfect judgment of good pictures, and to value them more or less, when compared with another, there is farther required a long conversation with the best pieces, which are not very frequent either in France or England: yet some we have, not only from the hands of Holbien, Rubens, and Vandyck, (one of them admirable for history-painting, and the other two for portraits,) but of many Flemish masters, and those not inconsiderable, though for design not equal to the Italians. And of these latter also, we are not unfurnished with some pieces of Raphael, Titian, Correggio, Michael Angelo, and others. But to return to my own undertaking of this translation; I freely own that I thought myself uncapable of performing it, either to their satisfaction, or my own credit. Not but that I understood the original Latin, and the French Author perhaps as well as most Englishmen; but I was not sufficiently versed in the terms of Art: and therefore thought that many of those persons, who put this honourable task on me, were more able to perform it themselves, as undoubtedly they were. But they assuring me of their assistance in correcting my faults, where I spoke improperly, I was encouraged to attempt it, that I might not be wanting in what I could, to satisfy the desires of so many gentlemen who were willing to give the world this useful work. They have effectually performed their promise to me, and I have been as careful on my side to take their advice on all things; so that the reader may assure himself of a tolerable translation; not

elegant, for I proposed not that to myself, but familiar, clear, and instructive: in any of which parts, if I have failed, the fault lies wholly at my door. In this one particular only, I must beg the reader's pardon: the prose Translation of the Poem is not free from poetical expressions, and I dare not promise that some of them are not fustian, or at least highly metaphorical; but this being a fault in the first digestion, (that is, the original Latin,) was not to be remedied in the second, viz. the Translation; and I may confidently say, that whoever had attempted it, must have fallen into the same inconvenience, or a much greater, that of a false version. When I undertook this work, I was already engaged in the translation of Virgil, from whom I have borrowed only two months, and am now returning to that which I ought to understand better. In the mean time, I beg the reader's pardon for entertaining him so long with myself; it is an usual part of ill manners in all authors, and almost in all mankind, to trouble others with their business; and I was so sensible of it before-hand, that I had not now committed it, unless some concernments of the readers had been interwoven with my own. But I know not, while I am atoning for one error, if I am not falling into another: for I have been importuned to say something farther of this art; and to make some observations on it, in relation to the likeness and agreement which it has with Poetry, its sister. But before I proceed, it will not be amiss, if I copy from Bellori (a most ingenious

author) some part of his idea of a Painter, which cannot be unpleasing, at least to such who are conversant in the philosophy of Plato; and to avoid tediousness, I will not translate the whole discourse, but take and leave as I find occasion.

"God Almighty, in the fabric of the universe, first contemplated himself, and reflected on his own excellencies; from which he drew and constituted those first forms, which are called Ideas, so that every species which was afterwards expressed, was produced from that first idea, forming that wonderful contexture of all created beings. But the celestial bodies above the moon being incorruptible and not subject to change, remained for ever fair and in perpetual order. On the contrary, all things which are sublunary, are subject to change, to deformity, and to decay; and though Nature always intends a consummate beauty in her productions, yet, through the inequality of the matter, the forms are altered; and in particular human beauty suffers alteration for the worse, as we see to our mortification, in the deformities and disproportions which are in us. For which reason the artful Painter, and the Sculptor imitating the divine Maker, form to themselves, as well as they are able, a model of the superior beauties; and reflecting on them, endeavour to correct and amend the common Nature, and to represent it as it was first created, without fault, either in colour or in lineament.

"This idea, which we may call the Goddess of Paint-

ing and of Sculpture, descends upon the marble and the cloth, and becomes the original of those arts; and being measured by the compass of the intellect, is itself the measure of the performing hand; and, being animated by the imagination, infuses life into the image. The idea of the Painter and the Sculptor is undoubtedly that perfect and excellent example of the mind, by imitation of which imagined form, all things are represented which fall under human sight: such is the definition which is made by Cicero, in his book of the Orator to Brutus. 'As, therefore, in forms and figures, there is 'somewhat which is excellent and perfect, to which 'imagined species all things are referred by imitation, 'which are the objects of sight; in like manner we 'behold the species of eloquence in our minds, the 'effigies, or actual image of which we seek in the 'organs of our hearing. This is likewise confirm-'ed by Proclus, in the dialogue of Plato, called 'Timæus: If, says he, you take a man as he is made by 'Nature, and compare him with another who is the 'effect of Art, the work of Nature will always appear 'the less beautiful, because Art is more accurate than 'Nature.' But Zeuxis, who, from the choice which he made of five virgins, drew that wonderful picture of Helena, which Cicero, in his Orator before mentioned, sets before us, as the most perfect example of beauty, at the same time admonishes a Painter to contemplate the ideas of the most natural forms; and to make a

judicious choice of several bodies, all of them the most elegant which he can find; by which we may plainly understand, that he thought it impossible to find in any one body all those perfections which he sought for the accomplishment of a Helena, because Nature in an individual person makes nothing that is perfect in all its parts. For this reason Maximus Tyrius also says, that the image which is taken by a Painter from several bodies, produces a beauty, which it is impossible to find in any single natural body, approaching to the perfection of the fairest statues. Thus Nature, on this account, is so much inferior to Art, that those Artists who propose to themselves only the imitation or likeness of such or such a particular person, without election of those ideas before mentioned, have often been reproached for that omission. Demetrius was taxed for being too natural, Dionysius was also blamed for drawing men like us, and was commonly called Ἀνθρωπόγραφος, that is, a painter of men. In our times, Michael Angelo da Caravaggio was esteemed too natural: he drew persons as they were; and Bamboccio, and most of the Dutch painters have drawn the worst likeness. Lysippus, of old, upbraided the common sort of Sculptors for making men such as they were found in nature; and boasted of himself, that he made them as they ought to be: which is a precept of Aristotle, given as well to Poets as to Painters. Phidias raised an admiration even to astonishment in those who beheld his statues, with the forms

which he gave to his gods and heroes, by imitating the idea rather than nature; and Cicero, speaking of him, affirms, that figuring Jupiter and Pallas, he did not contemplate any object from whence he took any likeness, but considered in his own mind a great and admirable form of beauty, and according to that image in his soul, he directed the operation of his hand. Seneca also seems to wonder that Phidias, having never beheld either Jove or Pallas, yet could conceive their divine images in his mind. Apollonius Tyanæus says the same in other words, that the fancy more instructs the Painter than the imitation; for the last makes only the things which it sees, but the first makes also the things which it never sees.

"Leon Battista Alberti tells us, that we ought not so much to love the likeness as the beauty, and to choose from the fairest bodies severally the fairest parts. Leonardo da Vinçi instructs the Painter to form this idea to himself; and Raffaelle, the greatest of all modern Masters, writes thus to Castiglione, concerning his Galatea: 'To paint a fair one, it is necessary for 'me to see many fair ones; but because there is so 'great a scarcity of lovely women, I am constrained to 'make use of one certain idea, which I have formed to 'myself in my own fancy.' Guido Reni sending to Rome his St. Michael, which he had painted for the church of the Capuchins, at the same time wrote to Monsignor Massano, who was the *maestro di casa* (or

steward of the house) to Pope Urban VIII. in this manner: 'I wish I had the wings of an angel, to have 'ascended into Paradise, and there to have beheld the 'forms of those beatified spirits, from which I might 'have copied my Archangel: but not being able to 'mount so high, it was in vain for me to search his re-'semblance here below; so that I was forced to make 'an introspection into my own mind, and into that idea 'of beauty, which I have formed in my own imagina-'tion. I have likewise created there the contrary idea 'of deformity and ugliness; but I leave the considera-'tion of it till I paint the Devil, and, in the mean time, 'shun the very thought of it as much as possibly I can, 'and am even endeavouring to blot it wholly out of my 'remembrance.' There was not any lady in all antiquity who was mistress of so much beauty, as was to be found in the Venus of Gnidus, made by Praxiteles, or the Minerva of Athens, by Phidias, which was therefore called the Beautiful Form. Neither is there any man of the present age equal in the strength, proportion, and knitting of his limbs, to the Hercules of Farnese, made by Glycon; or any woman who can justly be compared with the Medicean Venus of Cleomenes. And upon this account the noblest Poets and the best Orators, when they desire to celebrate any extraordinary beauty, are forced to have recourse to statues and pictures, and to draw their persons and faces into comparison: Ovid, endeavouring to express the beauty of Cyllarus, the

fairest of the Centaurs, celebrates him as next in perfection to the most admirable statues:

Gratus in ore vigor, cervix, humerique, manusque,
Pectoraque, artificum laudatis proxima signis.

A pleasing vigour his fair face express'd;
His neck, his hands, his shoulders, and his breast,
Did next in gracefulness and beauty stand,
To breathing figures of the Sculptor's hand.

In another place, he sets Apelles above Venus:

Si Venerem Cois nunquam pinxisset Apelles,
Mersa sub æquoreis illa lateret aquis.

Thus varied:

One birth to seas the Cyprian goddess ow'd,
A second birth the Painter's art bestow'd:
Less by the seas than by his pow'r was giv'n;
They made her live, but he advanc'd to heaven.

"The idea of this beauty is indeed various, according to the several forms which the Painter or Sculptor would describe: as one in strength, another in magnanimity; and sometimes it consists in cheerfulness, and sometimes in delicacy, and is always diversified by the sex and age.

"The beauty of Jove is one, and that of Juno another: Hercules and Cupid are perfect beauties, though

of different kinds; for beauty is only that which makes all things as they are in their proper and perfect nature, which the best Painters always choose, by contemplating the forms of each. We ought farther to consider, that a Picture being the representation of a human action, the Painter ought to retain in his mind the examples of all affections and passions; as a Poet preserves the idea of an angry man, of one who is fearful, sad, or merry; and so of all the rest: for it is impossible to express that with the hand, which never entered into the imagination. In this manner, as I have rudely and briefly shown you, Painters and Sculptors, choosing the most elegant natural beauties, perfectionate the idea, and advance their art, even above Nature itself, in her individual productions, which is the utmost mastery of human performance.

"From hence arises that astonishment, and almost adoration, which is paid by the knowing to those divine remains of antiquity. From hence Phidias, Lysippus, and other noble Sculptors, are still held in veneration; and Apelles, Zeuxis, Protogenes, and other admirable Painters, though their works are perished, are and will be eternally admired; who all of them drew after the ideas of perfection; which are the miracles of nature, the providence of the understanding, the exemplars of the mind, the light of the fancy; the sun, which, from its rising, inspired the statue of Memnon, and the fire which warmed into life the image of Prometheus; it is this

which causes the Graces and the Loves to take up their habitations in the hardest marble, and to subsist in the emptiness of light and shadows. But since the idea of eloquence is as inferior to that of painting, as the force of words is to the sight, I must here break off abruptly; and having conducted the reader, as it were, to a secret walk, there leave him in the midst of silence to contemplate those ideas which I have only sketched, and which every man must finish to himself."

In these pompous expressions, or such as these, the Italian has given you his idea of a Painter; and though I cannot much commend the style, I must needs say, there is somewhat in the matter: Plato himself is accustomed to write loftily, imitating, as the critics tell us, the manner of Homer; but, surely, that inimitable Poet had not so much of smoke in his writings, though not less of fire. But, in short, this is the present genius of Italy. What Philostratus tells us, in the proem of his *Figures*, is somewhat plainer, and therefore I will translate it almost word for word: "He who will rightly "govern the Art of Painting, ought, of necessity, first "to understand human nature. He ought likewise to "be endued with a genius to express the signs of their "passions whom he represents, and to make the dumb "as it were to speak: he must yet further understand "what is contained in the constitution of the cheeks, in "the temperament of the eyes, in the naturalness (if I "may so call it) of the eye-brows; and, in short, what-

" soever belongs to the mind and thought. He who " thoroughly possesses all these things, will obtain the " whole, and the hand will exquisitely represent the " action of every particular person; if it happens that " he be either mad or angry, melancholic or cheerful, a " sprightly youth, or a languishing lover: in one word, " he will be able to paint whatsoever is proportionable " to any one. And even in all this there is a sweet error " without causing any shame; for the eyes and mind of " the beholders being fastened on objects which have no " real being, as if they were truly existent, and being " induced by them to believe them so, what pleasure is " it not capable of giving? The antients, and other wise " men, have written many things concerning the sym- " metry, which is in the art of Painting: constituting, " as it were, some certain laws for the proportion of " every member; not thinking it possible for a Painter " to undertake the expression of those motions which " are in the mind without a concurrent harmony in the " natural measure: for that which is out of its own kind " and measure, is not received from Nature, whose " motion is always right. On a serious consideration of " this matter, it will be found, that the Art of Painting " has a wonderful affinity with that of Poetry, and there " is betwixt them a certain common imagination. For " as the Poets introduce the gods and heroes, and all " those things which are either majestical, honest, or " delightful; in like manner, the Painters, by the virtue

" of their outlines, colours, lights, and shadows, repre-
" sent the same things and persons in their pictures."
Thus, as convoy ships either accompany, or should accompany their merchants, till they may prosecute the rest of their voyage without danger; so Philostratus has brought me thus far on my way, and I can now sail on without him. He has begun to speak of the great relation betwixt Painting and Poetry, and thither the greatest part of this discourse, by my promise, was directed. I have not engaged myself to any perfect method, neither am I loaded with a full cargo: it is sufficient if I bring a sample of some goods in this voyage. It will be easy for others to add more, when the commerce is settled: for a treatise, twice as large as this, of Painting, could not contain all that might be said on the parallel of these two sister arts. I will take my rise from Bellori before I proceed to the Author of this book.

The business of his Preface is to prove, that a learned Painter should form to himself an idea of perfect nature. This image he is to set before his mind in all his undertakings, and to draw from thence, as from a storehouse, the beauties which are to enter into his work: thereby correcting Nature from what actually she is in individuals, to what she ought to be, and what she was created. Now, as this idea of perfection is of little use in portraits, or the resemblances of particular persons, so neither is it in the characters of comedy and tragedy, which are never to be made perfect, but always to be

drawn with some specks of frailty and deficience; such as they have been described to us in history, if they were real characters; or such as the Poet began to show them, at their first appearance, if they were only fictitious, or imaginary. The perfection of such stage characters consists chiefly in their likeness to the deficient faulty nature, which is their original; only (as it is observed more at large hereafter) in such cases there will always be found a better likeness and a worse, and the better is constantly to be chosen; I mean in tragedy, which represents the figures of the highest form among mankind: thus, in portraits, the Painter will not take that side of the face which has some notorious blemish in it, but either draw it in profile, as Apelles did Antigonus, who had lost one of his eyes, or else shadow the more imperfect side: for an ingenious flattery is to be allowed to the professors of both arts, so long as the likeness is not destroyed. It is true, that all manner of imperfections must not be taken away from the characters; and the reason is, that there may be left some grounds of pity for their misfortunes: we can never be grieved for their miseries who are thoroughly wicked, and have thereby justly called their calamities on themselves: such men are the natural objects of our hatred, not of our commiseration. If, on the other side, their characters were wholly perfect, such as, for example, the character of a saint or martyr in a play, his or her misfortunes would produce impious thoughts in the

beholders; they would accuse the heavens of injustice, and think of leaving a religion where piety was so ill requited. I say the greater part would be tempted so to do; I say not that they ought; and the consequence is too dangerous for the practice. In this I have accused myself for my own St. Catharine; but let truth prevail. Sophocles has taken the just medium in his Oedipus: he is somewhat arrogant at his first entrance, and is too inquisitive through the whole tragedy; yet these imperfections being balanced by great virtues, they hinder not our compassion for his miseries, neither yet can they destroy that horror which the nature of his crimes have excited in us. Such in Painting are the warts and moles, which, adding a likeness to the face, are not, therefore, to be omitted; but these produce no loathing in us; but how far to proceed, and where to stop, is left to the judgment of the Poet and the Painter. In comedy there is somewhat more of the worse likeness to be taken, because that is often to produce laughter, which is occasioned by the sight of some deformity; but for this I refer the reader to Aristotle. It is a sharp manner of instruction for the vulgar, who are never well amended till they are more than sufficiently exposed. That I may return to the beginning of this remark, concerning perfect ideas, I have only this to say, that the parallel is often true in epic poetry.

The heroes of the Poets are to be drawn according to this rule; there is scarce a frailty to be left in the best

of them, any more than to be found in a Divine Nature. And if Æneas sometimes weeps, it is not in bemoaning his own miseries, but those which his people undergo. If this be an imperfection, the Son of God, when he was incarnate, shed tears of compassion over Jerusalem; and Lentulus describes him often weeping, but never laughing; so that Virgil is justified even from the Holy Scriptures. I have but one word more, which for once I will anticipate from the Author of this book. Though it must be an idea of perfection from which both the Epic Poet and the History Painter draws, yet all perfections are not suitable to all subjects, but every one must be designed according to that perfect beauty which is proper to him: an Apollo must be distinguished from a Jupiter, a Pallas from a Venus; and so in Poetry, an Æneas from any other hero, for piety is his chief perfection. Homer's Achilles is a kind of exception to this rule; but then he is not a perfect hero, nor so intended by the Poet. All his gods had somewhat of human imperfection, for which he has been taxed by Plato as an imitator of what was bad. But Virgil observed his fault, and mended it. Yet Achilles was perfect in the strength of his body, and the vigour of his mind. Had he been less passionate or less revengeful, the Poet well foresaw that Hector had been killed, and Troy taken at the first assault: which had destroyed the beautiful contrivance of his *Iliad*, and the moral of preventing discord amongst confederate princes, which was his principal intention:

for the moral (as Bossu observes) is the first business of the Poet, as being the ground-work of his instruction. This being formed, he contrives such a design or fable, as may be most suitable to the moral; after this he begins to think of the persons whom he is to employ in carrying on his design, and gives them the manners which are most proper to their several characters. The thoughts and words are the last parts which give beauty and colouring to the piece. When I say, that the manners of the hero ought to be good in perfection, I contradict not the Marquis of Normanby's opinion, in that admirable verse, where, speaking of a perfect character, he calls it

" A faultless monster, which the world ne'er knew:"

For that excellent critic intended only to speak of dramatic characters, and not of epic. Thus at least I have shown, that in the most perfect Poem, which is that of Virgil, a perfect idea was required and followed; and, consequently, that all succeeding Poets ought rather to imitate him, than even Homer. I will now proceed, as I promised, to the Author of this book; he tells you, almost in the first lines of it, that " the chief end of Painting is to please the eyes; and it is one great end of Poetry to please the mind." Thus far the parallel of the arts holds true; with this difference, that the principal end of Painting is to please, and the chief design of Poetry is to instruct. In this the latter seems to have the

advantage of the former. But if we consider the artists themselves on both sides, certainly their aims are the very same; they would both make sure of pleasing, and that in preference to instruction. Next, the means of this pleasure is by deceit: one imposes on the sight, and the other on the understanding. Fiction is of the essence of Poetry as well as of Painting; there is a resemblance in one, of human bodies, things, and actions, which are not real: and in the other, of a true story by a fiction. And as all stories are not proper subjects for an epic poem or a tragedy, so neither are they for a noble picture. The subjects both of the one and of the other ought to have nothing of immoral, low, or filthy in them; but this being treated at large in the book itself, I wave it, to avoid repetition. Only I must add, that, though Catullus, Ovid, and others, were of another opinion, that the subjects of Poets, and even their thoughts and expressions might be loose, provided their lives were chaste and holy, yet there are no such licences permitted in that art, any more than in Painting to design and colour obscene nudities. Vita proba est, is no excuse; for it will scarcely be admitted, that either a Poet or a Painter can be chaste, who give us the contrary examples in their writings and their pictures. We see nothing of this kind in Virgil, that which comes the nearest to it is the adventure of the cave, where Dido and Æneas were driven by the storm; yet even there, the Poet pretends a marriage before the consummation, and Juno herself was

present at it. Neither is there any expression in that story which a Roman matron might not read without a blush. Besides, the Poet passes it over as hastily as he can, as if he were afraid of staying in the cave with the two lovers, and of being a witness to their actions. Now I suppose that a Painter would not be much commended, who should pick out this cavern from the whole *Æneis*, when there is not another in the work. He had better leave them in their obscurity, than let in a flash of lightning to clear the natural darkness of the place, by which he must discover himself as much as them. The altar-pieces, and holy decorations of Painting, show that Art may be applied to better uses, as well as Poetry; and amongst many other instances, the Farnese Gallery, painted by Hannibal Carracci, is a sufficient witness yet remaining: the whole work being morally instructive, and particularly the Hercules Bivium, which is a perfect triumph of virtue over vice, as it is wonderfully well described by the ingenious Bellori.

Hitherto I have only told the reader what ought not to be the subject of a Picture or of a Poem. What it ought to be on either side, our Author tells us. It must, in general, be great and noble; and in this the parallel is exactly true. The subject of a Poet, either in tragedy, or in an epic poem, is a great action of some illustrious hero. It is the same in Painting: not every action, nor every person, is considerable enough to enter into the cloth. It must be the anger of an Achilles, the piety of

an Æneas, the sacrifice of an Iphigenia; for heroines as well as heroes are comprehended in the rule. But the parallel is more complete in tragedy than in an epic poem: for as a tragedy may be made out of many particular episodes of Homer or of Virgil; so may a noble Picture be designed out of this or that particular story in either author. History is also fruitful of designs, both for the Painter and the tragic Poet: Curtius throwing himself into a gulph, and the two Decii sacrificing themselves for the safety of their country, are subjects for Tragedy and Picture. Such is Scipio restoring the Spanish bride, whom he either loved, or may be supposed to love; by which he gained the hearts of a great nation, to interest themselves for Rome against Carthage: these are all but particular pieces in Livy's history, and yet are full, complete subjects for the pen and pencil. Now the reason of this is evident: Tragedy and Picture are more narrowly circumscribed by the mechanic rules of time and place than the epic poem: the time of this last is left indefinite. It is true Homer took up only the space of eight and forty days for his Iliad; but whether Virgil's action was comprehended in a year, or somewhat more, is not determined by Bossu. Homer made the place of his action Troy, and the Grecian camp besieging it. Virgil introduces his Æneas sometimes in Sicily, sometimes in Carthage, and other times at Cumæ, before he brings him to Laurentum; and even after that, he wanders again to the kingdom of Evander, and some

parts of Tuscany, before he returns to finish the war by the death of Turnus. But tragedy, according to the practice of the antients, was always confined within the compass of twenty-four hours, and seldom takes up so much time. As for the place of it, it was always one, and that not in a larger sense, as, for example, a whole city, or two or three several houses in it, but the market, or some other public place, common to the Chorus and all the actors; which established law of theirs, I have not an opportunity to examine in this place, because I cannot do it without digression from my subject, though it seems too strict at the first appearance, because it excludes all secret intrigues, which are the beauties of the modern stage; for nothing can be carried on with privacy, when the Chorus is supposed to be always present. But to proceed: I must say this to the advantage of Painting, even above Tragedy, that what this last represents in the space of many hours, the former shows us in one moment. The action, the passion, and the manners of so many persons as are contained in a Picture, are to be discerned at once in the twinkling of an eye; at least they would be so, if the sight could travel over so many different objects all at once, or the mind could digest them all at the same instant, or point of time. Thus, in the famous picture of Poussin, which represents the Institution of the blessed Sacrament, you see our Saviour and his twelve disciples, all concurring in the same action, after different manners, and in different postures; only the manners of

Judas are distinguished from the rest. Here is but one indivisible point of time observed; but one action performed by so many persons, in one room, and at the same table; yet the eye cannot comprehend at once the whole object, nor the mind follow it so fast; it is considered at leisure, and seen by intervals. Such are the subjects of noble pictures, and such are only to be undertaken by noble hands. There are other parts of Nature which are meaner, and yet are the subjects both of Painters and of Poets.

For to proceed in the parallel; as comedy is a representation of human life in inferior persons and low subjects, and by that means creeps into the nature of poetry, and is a kind of juniper, a shrub belonging to the species of cedar; so is the painting of clowns, the representation of a Dutch Kermis, the brutal sport of Snick-or-Snee, and a thousand other things of this mean invention, a kind of picture which belongs to Nature, but of the lowest form. Such is a Lazar in comparison to a Venus; both are drawn in human figures; they have faces alike, though not like faces. There is yet a lower sort of Poetry and Painting, which is out of nature; for a farce is that in Poetry which grotesque is in a Picture: the persons and action of a farce are all unnatural, and the manners false; that is, inconsistent with the characters of mankind. Grotesque Painting is the just resemblance of this; and Horace begins his Art of Poetry, by describing such a figure with

a man's head, a horse's neck, the wings of a bird, and a fish's tail, parts of different species jumbled together, according to the mad imagination of the dauber; and the end of all this, as he tells you afterward, is to cause laughter; a very monster in Bartholomew Fair, for the mob to gape at for their two-pence. Laughter is indeed the propriety of a man, but just enough to distinguish him from his elder brother with four legs. It is a kind of a bastard pleasure too, taken in at the eyes of the vulgar gazers, and at the ears of the beastly audience. Church-painters use it to divert the honest country-man at public prayers, and keep his eyes open at a heavy sermon; and farce-scribblers make use of the same noble invention to entertain citizens, country gentlemen, and Covent Garden fops: if they are merry, all goes well on the Poet's side. The better sort go thither too, but in despair of sense and the just images of Nature, which are the adequate pleasures of the mind. But the author can give the stage no better than what was given him by Nature; and the actors must represent such things as they are capable to perform, and by which both they and the scribbler may get their living. After all, it is a good thing to laugh at any rate; and if a straw can tickle a man, it is an instrument of happiness. Beasts can weep when they suffer, but they cannot laugh: and, as Sir William Davenant observes, in his preface to Gondibert, "It is the wisdom of a government to permit plays, (he might have added farces,) as it is the prudence of a carter to put bells

upon his horses to make them carry their burdens cheerfully."

I have already shown, that one main end of Poetry and Painting is to please, and have said something of the kinds of both, and of their subjects, in which they bear a great resemblance to each other. I must now consider them as they are great and noble Arts: and as they are Arts, they must have rules which may direct them to their common end.

To all arts and sciences, but more particularly to these, may be applied what Hippocrates says of Physic, as I find him cited by an eminent French critic. "Medicine has long subsisted in the world; the principles of it are certain, and it has a certain way; by both which there has been found, in the course of many ages, an infinite number of things, the experience of which has confirmed its usefulness and goodness. All that is wanting to the perfection of this art, will undoubtedly be found, if able men, and such as are instructed in the antient rules, will make a farther inquiry into it, and endeavour to arrive at that which is hitherto unknown by that which is already known. But all, who having rejected the antient rules, and taken the opposite ways, yet boast themselves to be masters of this art, do but deceive others, and are themselves deceived; for that is absolutely impossible."

This is notoriously true in these two arts; for the way to please being to imitate Nature, both the Poets and the

Painters in antient times, and in the best ages, have studied her: and from the practice of both these arts the rules have been drawn, by which we are instructed how to please, and to compass that end which they obtained, by following their example; for Nature is still the same in all ages, and can never be contrary to herself. Thus, from the practice of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, Aristotle drew his rules for Tragedy, and Philostratus for Painting. Thus, amongst the moderns, the Italian and French critics, by studying the precepts of Aristotle and Horace, and having the example of the Grecian Poets before their eyes, have given us the rules of modern tragedy, and thus the critics of the same countries, in the Art of Painting, have given the precepts of perfecting that art. It is true, that Poetry has one advantage over Painting in these last ages, that we have still the remaining examples both of the Greek and Latin Poets: whereas the Painters have nothing left them from Apelles, Protogenes, Parrhasius, Zeuxis, and the rest, but only the testimonies which are given of their incomparable works. But instead of this, they have some of their best statues, basso-relievos, columns, obelisks, &c. which are saved out of the common ruin, and are still preserved in Italy; and by well distinguishing what is proper to Sculpture, and what to Painting, and what is common to them both, they have judiciously repaired that loss; and the great genius of Raphael and others, having succeeded to the times of barbarism and

ignorance, the knowledge of Painting is now arrived to a supreme perfection, though the performance of it is much declined in the present age. The greatest age for Poetry amongst the Romans, was certainly that of Augustus Cæsar; and yet we are told, that Painting was then at its lowest ebb, and perhaps Sculpture was also declining at the same time. In the reign of Domitian, and some who succeeded him, Poetry was but meanly cultivated, but Painting eminently flourished. I am not here to give the history of the two Arts, how they were both in a manner extinguished by the irruption of the barbarous nations, and both restored about the times of Leo X. Charles V. and Francis I. though I might observe, that neither Ariosto, nor any of his contemporary Poets, ever arrived at the excellency of Raphael, Titian, and the rest in painting. But in revenge, at this time, or lately, in many countries, Poetry is better practised than her sister-art. To what height the magnificence and encouragement of the present King of France may carry Painting and Sculpture is uncertain; but by what he has done before the war in which he is engaged, we may expect what he will do after the happy conclusion of a peace; which is the prayer and wish of all those who have not an interest to prolong the miseries of Europe. For it is most certain, as our Author, amongst others, has observed, that reward is the spur of virtue, as well in all good arts, as in all laudable attempts; and emulation, which is the other spur, will never be want-

ing either amongst Poets or Painters, when particular rewards and prizes are proposed to the best deservers. But to return from this digression, though it was almost necessary, all the rules of Painting are methodically, concisely, and yet clearly delivered in this present treatise which I have translated: Bossu has not given more exact rules for the Epic Poem, nor Dacier for Tragedy, in his late excellent translation of Aristotle, and his notes upon him, than our Fresnoy has made for Painting: with the parallel of which I must resume my discourse, following my Author's text, though with more brevity than I intended, because Virgil calls me.

"The principal and most important part of Painting is to know what is most beautiful in nature, and most proper for that art." That which is the most beautiful is the most noble subject; so in Poetry, tragedy is more beautiful than comedy, because, as I said, the persons are greater whom the Poet instructs; and, consequently, the instructions of more benefit to mankind: the action is likewise greater and more noble, and thence is derived the greater and more noble pleasure.

To imitate nature well in whatsoever subject, is the perfection of both arts; and that Picture, and that Poem, which comes nearest the resemblance of nature, is the best: but it follows not, that what pleases most in either kind is therefore good, but what ought to please. Our depraved appetites and ignorance of the arts mislead our judgments, and cause us often to take that for true imitation of nature which has no resemblance of nature

in it. To inform our judgments, and to reform our tastes, rules were invented, that by them we might discern when nature was imitated, and how nearly. I have been forced to recapitulate these things, because mankind is not more liable to deceit than it is willing to continue in a pleasing error, strengthened by a long habitude. The imitation of nature is therefore justly constituted as the general, and indeed the only rule of pleasing, both in Poetry and Painting. Aristotle tells us, that imitation pleases because it affords matter for a reasoner to inquire into the truth or falsehood of imitation, by comparing its likeness or unlikeness with the original; but by this rule every speculation in nature, whose truth falls under the inquiry of a philosopher, must produce the same delight, which is not true. I should rather assign another reason: truth is the object of our understanding, as good is of our will; and the undertanding can no more be delighted with a lie, than the will can choose an apparent evil. As truth is the end of all our speculations, so the discovery of it is the pleasure of them; and since a true knowledge of nature gives us pleasure, a lively imitation of it, either in Poetry or Painting, must of necessity produce a much greater; for both these arts, as I said before, are not only true imitations of nature, but of the best nature, of that which is wrought up to a nobler pitch. They present us with images more perfect than the life in any individual, and we have the pleasure to see all the scattered beauties of nature united by a happy chemistry without its deformi-

ties or faults. They are imitations of the passions which always move, and therefore consequently please; for without motion there can be no delight, which cannot be considered but as an active passion. When we view these elevated ideas of nature, the result of that view is admiration, which is always the cause of pleasure.

This foregoing remark, which gives the reason why imitation pleases, was sent me by Mr. Walter Moyle, a most ingenious young gentleman, conversant in all the studies of humanity, much above his years. He had also furnished me, according to my request, with all the particular passages in Aristotle and Horace, which are used by them to explain the Art of Poetry by that of Painting; which, if ever I have time to retouch this Essay, shall be inserted in their places. Having thus shown that imitation pleases, and why it pleases in both these arts, it follows, that some rules of imitation are necessary to obtain the end; for without rules there can be no art, any more than there can be a house without a door to conduct you into it. The principal parts of Painting and Poetry next follow.

Invention is the first part and absolutely necessary to them both; yet no rule ever was or can be given how to compass it. A happy genius is the gift of nature: it depends on the influence of the stars, say the astrologers; on the organs of the body, say the naturalists; it is the particular gift of Heaven, say the divines, both Christians and heathens. How to improve it, many books

can teach us; how to obtain it, none; that nothing can be done without it, all agree:

Tu nihil invitâ dices faciesve Minervâ.

Without invention a Painter is but a copier, and a Poet but a plagiary of others. Both are allowed sometimes to copy and translate; but, as our Author tells you, that is not the best part of their reputation. "Imitators are but a servile kind of cattle," says the Poet: or at best, the keepers of cattle for other men: they have nothing which is properly their own; that is a sufficient mortification for me, while I am translating Virgil. But to copy the best author is a kind of praise, if I perform it as I ought: as a copy after Raphael is more to be commended than an original of any indifferent Painter.

Under this head of Invention is placed the disposition of the work, to put all things in a beautiful order and harmony, that the whole may be of a piece. "The compositions of the Painter should be conformable to the text of antient authors, to the custom and the times;" and this is exactly the same in Poetry: Homer and Virgil are to be our guides in the Epic; Sophocles and Euripides in Tragedy: in all things we are to imitate the customs and the times of those persons and things which we represent: not to make new rules of the drama, as Lopez de Vega has attempted unsuccessfully to do, but to be content to follow our masters, who understood nature better than we. But if the story which we treat

be modern, we are to vary the customs, according to the time and the country where the scene of action lies: for this is still to imitate nature, which is always the same, though in a different dress.

As "in the composition of a picture, the Painter is to take care that nothing enter into it, which is not proper or convenient to the subject;" so likewise is the Poet to reject all incidents which are foreign to his poem, and are naturally no parts of it: they are wens, and other excrescences, which belong not to the body, but deform it. No person, no incident in the piece or in the play, but must be of use to carry on the main design. All things else are like six fingers to the hand, when nature, which is superfluous in nothing, can do her work with five. "A Painter must reject all trifling ornaments;"—so must a Poet refuse all tedious and unnecessary descriptions. A robe which is too heavy, is less an ornament than a burden. In Poetry, Horace calls these things,

Versus inopes rerum, nugæque canoræ.

These are also the lucus et ara Dianæ, which he mentions in the same *Art of Poetry*: but since there must be ornaments, both in Painting and Poetry, if they are not necessary, they must at least be decent; that is, in their due place, and but moderately used. The Painter is not to take so much pains about the drapery, as about the face, where the principal resemblance lies; neither

is the Poet, who is working up a passion, to make similes which will certainly make it languish. My Montezuma dies with a fine one in his mouth, but it is out of season. Where there are more figures in a picture than are necessary, or at least ornamental, our author calls them "Figures to be lett," because the picture has no use of them: so I have seen in some modern plays above twenty actors, when the action has not required half the number. In the principal figures of a picture, the Painter is to employ the sinews of his art, for in them consists the principal beauty of his work. Our Author saves me the comparison with tragedy: for he says, that "herein he is to imitate the tragic Poet, who employs his utmost force in those places, wherein consists the height and beauty of the action."

Du Fresnoy, whom I follow, makes DESIGN, or Drawing, the second part of Painting; but the rules which he gives concerning the posture of the figures are almost wholly proper to that art, and admit not any comparison, that I know, with Poetry. The posture of a poetic figure is, as I conceive, the description of his heroes in the performance of such or such an action: As of Achilles, just in the act of killing Hector; or of Æneas, who has Turnus under him. Both the Poet and the Painter vary the postures, according to the action or passion, which they represent of the same person. But all must be great and graceful in them. The same Æneas must be drawn a suppliant to Dido, with respect

in his gestures, and humility in his eyes; but when he is forced, in his own defence, to kill Lausus, the Poet shows him compassionate, and tempering the severity of his looks with a reluctance to the action, which he is going to perform. He has pity on his beauty and his youth, and is loth to destroy such a master-piece of nature. He considers Lausus rescuing his father, at the hazard of his own life, as an image of himself, when he took Anchises on his shoulders, and bore him safe through the rage of the fire, and the opposition of his enemies; and therefore, in the posture of a retiring man, who avoids the combat, he stretches out his arm in sign of peace, with his right foot drawn a little back, and his breast bending inward, more like an orator than a soldier; and seems to dissuade the young man from pulling on his destiny, by attempting more than he was able to perform. Take the passage as I have thus translated it:

Shouts of applause ran ringing through the field,
To see the son the vanquish'd father shield:
All, fir'd with noble emulation, strive,
And with a storm of darts to distance drive
The Trojan chief; who, held at bay, from far
On his Vulcanian orb sustain'd the war.
Æneas thus o'erwhelm'd on ev'ry side,
Their first assault undaunted did abide;
And thus to Lausus, loud with friendly threatning cry'd,

Why wilt thou rush to certain death, and rage
In rash attempts beyond thy tender age,
Betray'd by pious love!

And afterwards,

He griev'd, he wept, the sight and image brought
Of his own filial love, a sadly-pleasing thought."

But, beside the outlines of the posture, the design of the picture, comprehends in the next place the "forms of faces which are to be different; and so in a poem, or play, must the several characters of the persons be distinguished from each other. I knew a Poet, whom out of respect I will not name, who, being too witty himself, could draw nothing but wits in a comedy of his: even his fools were infected with the disease of their author: they overflowed with smart repartees, and were only distinguished from the intended wits, by being called coxcombs, though they deserved not so scandalous a name. Another, who had a great genius for tragedy, following the fury of his natural temper, made every man and woman too, in his plays, stark raging mad; there was not a sober person to be had for love or money: all was tempestuous and blustering; heaven and earth were coming together at every word; a mere hurricane from the beginning to the end; and every actor seemed to be hastening on the day of judgment.

"Let every member be made for its own head," says our author, not a withered hand to a young face. So in

the persons of a play, whatever is said or done by any of them, must be consistent with the manners which the Poet has given them distinctly: and even the habits must be proper to the degrees and humours of the persons as well as in a picture. He who entered in the first act a young man, like Pericles, Prince of Tyre, must not be in danger, in the fifth act, of committing incest with his daughter; nor an usurer, without great probability and causes of repentance, be turned into a cutting Moorcraft.

I am not satisfied that the comparison betwixt the two Arts, in the last paragraph, is altogether so just as it might have been; but I am sure of this which follows.

"The principal figure of the subject must appear in the midst of the picture, under the principal light, to distinguish it from the rest, which are only its attendants." Thus in a tragedy, or in an epic poem, the hero of the piece must be advanced foremost to the view of the reader or spectator: he must outshine the rest of all the characters: he must appear the prince of them, like the sun in the Copernican system, encompassed with the less noble planets. Because the hero is the centre of the main action, all the lines from the circumference tend to him alone; he is the chief object of pity in the drama, and of admiration in the epic poem.

As in a picture, besides the principal figures which compose it, and are placed in the midst of it, there are less "groups or knots of figures disposed at proper

distances," which are parts of the piece, and seem to carry on the same design in a more inferior manner: so in epic poetry there are episodes, and a chorus in tragedy, which are members of the action, as growing out of it, not inserted into it. Such, in the ninth book of the *Æneis*, is the episode of Nisus and Euryalus: the adventure belongs to them alone; they alone are the objects of compassion and admiration; but their business which they carry on, is the general concernment of the Trojan camp, then beleaguered by Turnus and the Latines, as the Christians were lately by the Turks: they were to advertise the chief hero of the distresses of his subjects, occasioned by his absence, to crave his succour, and solicit him to hasten his return.

The Grecian tragedy was at first nothing but a chorus of singers; afterwards one actor was introduced, which was the Poet himself, who entertained the people with a discourse in verse, betwixt the pauses of the singing. This succeeding with the people, more actors were added to make the variety the greater: and in process of time the Chorus only sung betwixt the acts, and the Coryphæus, or chief of them, spoke for the rest, as an actor concerned in the business of the play.

Thus tragedy was perfected by degrees; and being arrived at that perfection, the painters might probably take the hint from thence, of adding groups to their pictures: but as a good picture may be without a group, so a good tragedy may subsist without a Chorus, notwith-

standing any reasons which have been given by Dacier to the contrary.

Monsieur Racine has indeed used it in his *Esther*, but not that he found any necessity of it, as the French critic would insinuate. The Chorus at St. Cyr was only to give the young ladies an occasion of entertaining the king with vocal music, and of commending their own voices. The play itself was never intended for the public stage; nor, without any disparagement to the learned Author, could possibly have succeeded there, and much less in the translation of it here. Mr. Wycherly, when we read it together, was of my opinion in this, or rather I of his; for it becomes me so to speak of so excellent a poet, and so great a judge. But since I am in this place, as Virgil says, "Spatiis exclusus iniquis," that is, shortened in my time, I will give no other reason than that it is impracticable on our stage. A new theatre, much more ample, and much deeper, must be made for that purpose, besides the cost of sometimes forty or fifty habits, which is an expense too large to be supplied by a company of actors. It is true, I should not be sorry to see a Chorus on a theatre, more than as large and as deep again as ours, built and adorned at a king's charges: and on that condition and another, which is, that my hands were not bound behind me, as now they are, I should not despair of making such a tragedy, as might be both instructive and delightful, according to the manner of the Grecians.

"To make a sketch, or a more perfect model of a Picture," is, in the language of poets, to draw up the scenery of a play: and the reason is the same for both; to guide the undertaking, and to preserve the remembrance of such things whose natures are difficult to retain.

To avoid absurdities and incongruities is the same law established for both Arts. "The Painter is not to paint a cloud at the bottom of a picture, but in the uppermost parts;" nor the Poet to place what is proper to the end or middle in the beginning of a Poem. I might enlarge on this; but there are few Poets or Painters who can be supposed to sin so grossly against the laws of Nature and of Art. I remember only one play, and for once I will call it by its name, *The Slighted Maid*, where there is nothing in the first act but what might have been said or done in the fifth; nor any thing in the midst which might not have been placed as well in the beginning or the end.

"To express the passions which are seated on the heart by outward signs," is one great precept of the Painters, and very difficult to perform. In poetry the same passions and motions of the mind are to be expressed; and in this consists the principal difficulty, as well as the excellency of that Art. "This," says my Author, "is the gift of Jupiter;" and, to speak in the same heathen language, we call it the gift of our Apollo, not to be obtained by pains or study, if we are not born to it: for

the motions which are studied are never so natural as those which break out in the height of a real passion. Mr. Otway possessed this part as thoroughly as any of the antients or moderns. I will not defend every thing in his *Venice Preserved*; but I must bear this testimony to his memory, that the passions are truly touched in it, though, perhaps, there is somewhat to be desired both in the grounds of them, and in the height and elegance of expression; but Nature is there, which is the greatest beauty.

"In the passions," says our Author, "we must have a very great regard to the quality of the persons who are actually possessed with them." The joy of a monarch for the news of a victory must not be expressed like the ecstacy of a harlequin on the receipt of a letter from his mistress: this is so much the same in both the Arts, that it is no longer a comparison. What he says of face-painting, or the portrait of any one particular person, concerning the likeness, is also applicable to poetry: in the character of an hero, as well as in an inferior figure, there is a better or worse likeness to be taken; the better is a panegyric, if it be not false, and the worse is a libel. Sophocles, says Aristotle, always drew men as they ought to be; that is, better than they were. Another, whose name I have forgotten, drew them worse than naturally they were. Euripides altered nothing in the character, but made them such as they were represented by history, epic poetry, or tradition. Of the three, the draught of

Sophocles is most commended by Aristotle. I have followed it in that part of *Oedipus* which I writ; though, perhaps, I have made him too good a man. But my characters of Antony and Cleopatra, though they are favourable to them, have nothing of outrageous panegyric; their passions were their own, and such as were given them by history, only the deformities of them were cast into shadows, that they might be objects of compassion; whereas, if I had chosen a noon-day light for them, somewhat must have been discovered, which would rather have moved our hatred than our pity.

"The Gothic manner, and the barbarous ornaments which are to be avoided in a picture," are just the same with those of an ill-ordered play. For example; our English tragi-comedy must be confessed to be wholly Gothic, notwithstanding the success which it has found upon our theatre; and in the *Pastor Fido* of Guarini, even though Corisca and the Satyr contribute somewhat to the main action: neither can I defend my *Spanish Friar*, as fond as otherwise I am of it, from this imputation; for though the comical parts are diverting, and the serious moving, yet they are of an unnatural mingle: for mirth and gravity destroy each other, and are no more to be allowed for decent, than a gay widow laughing in a mourning habit.

I had almost forgot one considerable resemblance. Du Fresnoy tells us, "that the figures of the groups must not be all on a side, that is, with their faces and

bodies all turned the same way, but must contrast each other by their several positions." Thus in a play, some characters must be raised to oppose others, and to set them off the better, according to the old maxim, "Contraria juxta se posita, magis elucescunt." Thus in *the Scornful Lady*, the usurer is sent to confront the prodigal: thus in my *Tyrannic Love*, the atheist Maximin is opposed to the character of St. Catharine.

I am now come, though with the omission of many likenesses, to the third part of Painting, which is called the Chromatic, or Colouring. Expression, and all that belongs to words, is that in a poem which Colouring is in a picture. The colours well chosen, in their proper places, together with their lights and shadows which belong to them, lighten the design, and make it pleasing to the eye. The words, the expressions, the tropes and figures, the versification, and all the other elegancies of sound, as cadences, turns of words upon the thought, and many other things, which are all parts of expression, perform exactly the same office both in dramatic and epic poetry. Our author calls, colouring, "lena sororis:" in plain English, the bawd of her sister, the design or drawing: she clothes, she dresses her up, she paints her, she makes her appear more lovely than naturally she is, she procures for the design, and makes lovers for her: for the design of itself is only so many naked lines. Thus in poetry, the expression is that which charms the reader, and beautifies the design, which is only the out-

lines of the fables. It is true, the design must of itself be good; if it be vicious, or, in one word, unpleasing, the cost of colouring is thrown away upon it. It is an ugly woman in a rich habit, set out with jewels; nothing can become her. But granting the design to be moderately good, it is like an excellent complexion with indifferent features; the white and red well mingled on the face, make what was before but passable, appear beautiful. "Operum colores" is the very word which Horace uses to signify words and elegant expression, of which he himself was so great a master in his Odes. Amongst the antients, Zeuxis was most famous for his colouring: amongst the moderns, Titian and Correggio. Of the two antient Epic Poets, who have so far excelled all the moderns, the invention and design were the particular talents of Homer. Virgil must yield to him in both; for the design of the Latin was borrowed from the Grecian: but the "dictio Virgiliana," the expression of Virgil, his colouring, was incomparably the better; and in that I have always endeavoured to copy him. Most of the pedants, I know, maintain the contrary, and will have Homer excel even in this part. But of all people, as they are the most ill-mannered, so they are the worst judges, even of words which are their province; they seldom know more than the grammatical construction, unless they are born with a poetical genius, which is a rare portion amongst them; yet some, I know, may stand excepted, and such I honour. Virgil is so exact in

every word, that none can be changed but for a worse; nor any one removed from its place, but the harmony will be altered. He pretends sometimes to trip: but it is only to make you think him in danger of a fall, when he is most secure. Like a skilful dancer on the ropes (if you will pardon the meanness of the similitude), who slips willingly, and makes a seeming stumble, that you may think him in great hazard of breaking his neck, while at the same time he is only giving you a proof of his dexterity. My late Lord Roscommon was often pleased with this reflection, and with the examples of it in this admirable author.

I have not leisure to run through the whole comparison of lights and shadows with tropes and figures; yet I cannot but take notice of metaphors, which, like them, have power to lessen or greaten any thing. Strong and glowing colours are the just resemblances of bold metaphors, but both must be judiciously applied; for there is a difference betwixt daring and fool-hardiness. Lucan and Statius often ventured them too far; our Virgil never. But the great defect of the *Pharsalia* and the *Thebais* was in the design; if that had been more perfect, we might have forgiven many of their bold strokes in the colouring, or at least excused them; yet some of them are such as Demosthenes or Cicero could not have defended. Virgil, if he could have seen the first verses of the *Sylvæ*, would have thought Statius mad in his fustian description of the statue on the brazen horse:

but that Poet was always in a foam at his setting out, even before the motion of the race had warmed him. The soberness of Virgil, whom he read, it seems, to little purpose, might have shown him the difference betwixt "Arma virumque cano," and "Magnanimum Æacidem, formidatamque tonanti progeniem." But Virgil knew how to rise by degrees in his expressions: Statius was in his towering heights at the first stretch of his pinions. The description of his running horse, just starting in the funeral games for Archemorus, though the verses are wonderfully fine, are the true image of their author:

> Stare adeo nescit, pereunt vestigia mille
> Ante fugam; absentemque ferit gravis ungula campum.

Which would cost me an hour, if I had the leisure to translate them, there is so much of beauty in the original. Virgil, as he better knew his colours, so he knew better how and where to place them. In as much haste as I am, I cannot forbear giving one example: It is said of him, that he read the second, fourth, and sixth books of his Æneis to Augustus Cæsar. In the sixth (which we are sure he read, because we know Octavia was present, who rewarded him so bountifully for the twenty verses which were made in honour of her deceased son Marcellus); in this sixth book, I say, the Poet, speaking of Misenus, the trumpeter, says,

——— Quo non præstantior alter
Ære ciere viros,———

and broke off in the hemistich, or midst of the verse; but in the very reading, seized as it were with a divine fury, he made up the latter part of the hemistich with these following words:

———Martemque accendere cantu.

How warm, nay, how glowing a colouring is this! In the beginning of the verse, the word *æs*, or brass, was taken for a trumpet, because the instrument was made of that metal, which of itself was fine; but in the latter end, which was made *extempore*, you see three metaphors, *Martemque,——accendere,——cantu*. Good heavens! how the plain sense is raised by the beauty of the words. But this was happiness, the former might be only judgment. This was the "curiosa felicitas" which Petronius attributes to Horace. It is the pencil thrown luckily full upon the horse's mouth, to express the foam, which the painter, with all his skill, could not perform without it. These hits of words, a true Poet often finds, as I may say, without seeking: but he knows their value when he finds them, and is infinitely pleased. A bad Poet may sometimes light on them, but he discerns not a diamond from a Bristol stone; and would have been of the cock's mind in Æsop, a grain of barley would have pleased him better than the jewel. The lights and

shadows which belong to colouring, put me in mind of that verse of Horace,

Hoc amat obscurum, vult hoc sub luce videri.

Some parts of a Poem require to be amply written, and with all the force and elegance of words: others must be cast into shadows; that is, passed over in silence, or but faintly touched. This belongs wholly to the judgment of the Poet and the Painter. The most beautiful parts of the Picture and the Poem must be the most finished: the colours and words most chosen; many things in both, which are not deserving of this care, must be shifted off, content with vulgar expressions; and those very short, and left, as in a shadow, to the imagination of the reader.

We have the proverb, "Manum de tabulâ," from the painters, which signifies to know when to give over, and to lay by the pencil. Both Homer and Virgil practised this precept wonderfully well: but Virgil the better of the two. Homer knew that when Hector was slain, Troy was as good as already taken: therefore he concludes his action there: for what follows in the funerals of Patroclus, and the redemption of Hector's body, is not, properly speaking, a part of the main action. But Virgil concludes with the death of Turnus; for, after that difficulty was removed, Æneas might marry, and establish the Trojans when he pleased. This rule I had before my eyes in the conclusion of the Spanish

Friar, when the discovery was made that the king was living; which was the knot of the play untied: the rest is shut up in the compass of some few lines, because nothing then hindered the happiness of Torismond and Leonora. The faults of that drama are in the kind of it, which is tragi-comedy. But it was given to the people, and I never writ any thing for myself but Antony and Cleopatra.

This remark, I must acknowledge, is not so proper for the colouring as the design; but it will hold for both. As the words, &c. are evidently shown to be the clothing of the thought, in the same sense as colours are the clothing of the design; so the Painter and the Poet ought to judge exactly when the colouring and expressions are perfect, and then to think their work is truly finished. Apelles said of Protogenes, that "he knew not when to give over." A work may be over-wrought as well as under-wrought: too much labour often takes away the spirit, by adding to the polishing; so that there remains nothing but a dull correctness, a piece without any considerable faults, but with few beauties: for when the spirits are drawn off, there is nothing but a "caput mortuum." Statius never thought an expression could be bold enough; and if a bolder could be found, he rejected the first. Virgil had judgment enough to know daring was necessary; but he knew the difference betwixt a glowing colour and a glaring; as when he compared the shocking of the fleets at Actium to the justling

of islands rent from their foundations and meeting in the ocean. He knew the comparison was forced beyond nature, and raised too high; he therefore softens the metaphor with a *credas*. You would almost believe that mountains or islands rushed against each other:

——Credas innare revulsas
Cycladas; aut montes concurrere montibus æquos.

But here I must break off without finishing the discourse.

"Cynthius aurem vellit, et admonuit, &c." the things which are behind are of too nice a consideration for an essay begun and ended in twelve mornings; and perhaps the judges of Painting and Poetry, when I tell them how short a time it cost me, may make me the same answer which my late Lord Rochester made to one, who, to commend a tragedy, said, it was written in three weeks: "How the Devil could he be so long about it? for that Poem was infamously bad," and I doubt this Parallel is little better; and then the shortness of the time is so far from being a commendation, that it is scarcely an excuse. But if I have really drawn a portrait to the knees, or an half-length with a tolerable likeness, then I may plead with some justice for myself, that the rest is left to the imagination. Let some better Artist provide himself of a deeper canvass; and taking these hints which I have given, set the figure on its legs, and finish it in the Invention, Design, and Colouring.

EPISTLE

OF

MR. POPE,

TO

MR. JERVAS.

The following elegant Epistle has constantly been prefixed to all the Editions of Du Fresnoy, which have been published since Jervas corrected the translation of Dryden. It is, therefore, here reprinted, in order that a Poem which does so much honour to the original Author may still accompany his work, although the Translator is but too conscious how much so masterly a piece of versification on the subject of Painting, will, by being brought thus near it, prejudice his own lines. M.

TO

MR. JERVAS

WITH

FRESNOY'S ART OF PAINTING,

TRANSLATED BY MR. DRYDEN.*

THIS verse be thine, my Friend, nor thou refuse
This, from no venal or ungrateful Muse.
Whether thy hand strike out some free design,
Where life awakes and dawns at every line;
Or blend in beauteous tints the colour'd mass,
And from the canvass call the mimic face:
Read these instructive leaves, in which conspire
Fresnoy's close art, and Dryden's native fire,
And reading wish, like theirs, our fate and fame,
So mix'd our studies, and so join'd our name;
Like them to shine through long-succeeding age,
So just thy skill, so regular my rage.
Smit with the love of sister arts we came,
And met congenial, mingling flame with flame;

* First printed in 1716.

Like friendly colours found them both unite,
And each from each contract new strength and light.
How oft in pleasing tasks we wear the day,
While summer suns roll unperceiv'd away?
How oft our slowly-growing works impart,
While images reflect from art to art?
How oft review; each finding like a friend,
Something to blame, and something to commend?
What flatt'ring scenes our wand'ring fancy wrought,
Rome's pompous glories rising to our thought!
Together o'er the Alps methinks we fly,
Fir'd with ideas of fair Italy.
With thee, on Raffaelle's monument I mourn,
Or wait inspiring dreams at Maro's urn:
With thee repose, where Tully once was laid,
Or seek some ruin's formidable shade;
While Fancy brings the vanish'd pile to view,
And builds imaginary Rome anew.
Here thy well-study'd marbles fix our eye;
A fading fresco here demands a sigh:
Each heavenly piece unwearied we compare,
Match Raffaelle's grace with thy lov'd Guido's air,
Caracci's strength, Correggio's softer line,
Paulo's free stroke, and Titian's warmth divine.
How finish'd with illustrious toil appears
This small, well-polish'd gem, the work of years! *

* Fresnoy employed above twenty years in finishing this Poem.

Yet still how faint by precept is exprest
The living image in the Painter's breast?
Thence endless streams of fair ideas flow,
Strike in the sketch, or in the picture glow;
Thence beauty, waking all her forms, supplies
An Angel's sweetness, or Bridgewater's eyes.
Muse! at that name thy sacred sorrows shed,
Those tears eternal that embalm the dead:
Call round her tomb each object of desire,
Each purer frame inform'd with purer fire:
Bid her be all that cheers or softens life,
The tender sister, daughter, friend, and wife!
Bid her be all that makes mankind adore;
Then view this marble, and be vain no more!
Yet still her charms in breathing paint engage:
Her modest cheek shall warm a future age.
Beauty, frail flower, that every season fears,
Blooms in thy colours for a thousand years.
Thus Churchill's race shall other hearts surprise,
And other beauties envy Wortley's * eyes,
Each pleasing Blount shall endless smiles bestow,
And soft Belinda's blush for ever glow.

* In one of Dr. Warburton's editions of Pope, by which copy this has been corrected, the name is changed to *Worsley*. If that reading be not an error of the press, I suppose the poet altered the name after he had quarrelled with lady M. W. Montague, and being offended at her wit, thus revenged himself on her beauty.

Oh! lasting as those colours may they shine,
Free as thy stroke, yet faultless as thy line!
New graces yearly, like thy works display:
Soft without weakness, without glaring gay;
Led by some rule, that guides, but not constrains:
And finish'd more through happiness than pains!
The kindred Arts shall in their praise conspire,
One dip the pencil, and one string the lyre.
Yet should the Graces all thy figures place,
And breathe an air divine on ev'ry face;
Yet should the Muses bid my numbers roll,
Strong as their charms, and gentle as their soul;
With Zeuxis' Helen thy Bridgewater vie,
And these be sung till Granville's Myra die;
Alas! how little from the grave we claim!
Thou but preserv'st a face, and I a name.

A

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST

OF

PAINTERS,

FROM THE REVIVAL OF THE ART TO THE BEGINNING OF THE LAST CENTURY.

Instead of the short account of the lives of the Painters by Mr. GRAHAM, which has been annexed to the later Editions of Mr. DRYDEN's translation, I have thought proper to insert, at the conclusion of this work, the following Chronological List drawn up by the late Mr. GRAY, when in Italy, for his own use, and which I found fairly transcribed amongst those papers, which his friendship bequeathed to me. Mr. GRAY was as diligent in his researches as correct in his judgment; and has here employed both these talents to point out in one column the places where the principal works of each master are to be found, and in another the different parts of the art in which his own taste led him to think that they severally excelled.* It is presumed, therefore, that these two additions to the names and dates will render this little work more useful than any thing of the catalogue kind hitherto printed on the subject. For more copious Biographical information, the reader is referred to Mr. PILKINGTON's Dictionary. M.

* See Memoirs of Mr. Gray, Note on Letter XIV. Sect. II.

Names.	Studied under	Excelled in
Giovanni Cimabue	certain Greeks -	first revived Painting
Andrea Taffi - -	Apollonius, a Greek	revived Mosaic
Giotto - - -	Cimabue - -	quitted the stiff manner of the Greeks
Buonamico Buffalmacco	Andrea Taffi -	
5 Ambrogio Lorenzetti	Giotto - -	
Pietro Cavallini - -	Giotto - - -	
Simon Memmi -	Giotto - -	
Andrea Orgagna -	imitated Giotto -	
Tomaso Giottino - -	imitated Giotto	
10 Paolo Uccello - -	Antonio Venetiano	first who studied perspective
Massolino - - -	LorenzoGhiberti and Gher. Starnina	gave more grace to his figures and drapery
Masaccio - - -	Massolino - -	
Fra. Giov. Angelico da Fiesole - - - -	Giottino - - -	
Antonella da Messina	John Van Eyck	introduced oil Painting into Italy
15 Fra. Filippo Lippi -	Masaccio - -	began to paint figures larger than life
Andrea del Castagno, detto Degl' Impiccati	DomenicoVenetiano	painted in oil first at Florence
Gentile del Fabriano	Giovanni da Fiesole	
Giacomo Bellini - -	Gentile del Fabriano	
Gentile Bellini } -	{ Giacomo their fa-	
20 Giovanni Bellini }	{ ther -	
Cosmo Rosselli - -		
Domenico Ghirlandaio	Alessand. Baldovinetti - -	lively colouring genteel designing and good airs
Andrea Verocchio -	Giacomo Squarcione	observation of perspective
Andrea Mantegna -		

Painted	Country, Place, and Year of their Death.		Age	Principal Works are at
History	Florence, Flor.	1300	60	almost all perished.
History	Florence -	1294	81	unknown.
History	Florence -	1336	60	Rome, St. Peter's, Arezzo—Mosaics.
History	Florence -	1340	78	Pisa, Campo-Santo.
History	Sienna -	1350	83	
History	Rome -	1364	85	Rome, St. Paolo fuor della Città.
Portraits	Sienna, Florence	1345	60	
History	Florence -	1389	60	Florence, the Dome.
History	Florence -	1356	32	
Birds, some His.	Florence -	1432	83	
History	Florence -	1418	37	
History	Florence -	1443	24	
Hist. Miniatures	Florence, Rome	1455	68	Florence, the Palace, in the Apartments of the old Pictures.
History	Messina -	1475	49	
History	Florence, Rome	1488	69	Florence, the Palace.
History	Florence -	1480	71	
History	Verona -	1412	80	Rome, S. Giov. Laterano, S. Mar. Maggiore.
History	Venice -	1470	—	
History	Venice -	1501	80	Venice, in some cabinets.
History	Venice -	1512	90	
History	Florence, Rome	1484	68	Rome, Capella Sistina
History	Florence -	1493	44	Florence, Palace, Closet of Madama.
History	Florence -	1488	56	
History	Padua, Mantua	1517	66	Florence, Rome, Apart.

	Names.	Studied under	Excelled in
	Filippo Lippi - -	Fra. Filippo his father, and Sandro Boticelli	
	Pietro Perugino - -	Andrea Verocchio	
	Bernardino Pinturicchio - - - - -	Pietro Perugino	
	Francesco Francia -	Marco Zoppo -	first considerable Master of the Bolognese School
5	Bartolomeo Ramenghi detto Il Bagnacavallo	Francesco Francia	soft and fleshy colouring
	Innocenzo Francucci, detto da Imola	Francesco Francia	correct drawing
	Francesco Turbido, detto Il Mauro	* Giorgione - -	
	Luca Signorelli - -	Pietro della Francesca	
	* Lionardo da Vinci		exquisite designing
10	* Giorgio Giorgione	imitated Lionardo's manner	management of the clair-ob-cure, & colouring
	* Antonio da Correggio		divine colouring and morbidezza of his flesh; angelical grace & joyous airs of his figures and clair obscure
	Mariotto Albertinelli	Cosmo Roselli -	
	Baccio, detto Fra. Bartolomeo di S. Marco	Cosmo Roselli -	
	Pietro di Cosimo -	Cosmo Roselli -	
15	Raphaelino del Garbo	Filippo Lippi -	

	Painted	Country, Place, and Year of their Death.	Aged	Principal Works are at
				ments of Innocent 8, at the Belvedere Chapel.
	History	Florence - 1505	69	
	History	Rnesia, Rome 1524	78	Rome, Pal. Borghese, &c.
	History	Florence, Sienna 1513	59	Sienna, Library of the Dome; Rome, Santa Croce in Gierusalemme; Madonna dell' Popolo, &c.
	History	Bologna - - 1518	68	Bologna, in several Churches
5	History	Bologna - - 1541	48	Bologna.
	History	Bologna - - ———	—	Bologna.
	History	Verona - - 1521	81	
	History	Cortona - - 1521	82	
	Hist. and Portraits	Milan, Paris - 1317	75	Milan, the Dominicans, the Academy; Florence, Pal. Pitti; Rome, Pal. Borghese, Barberini.
10	Hist. and Portraits	Castel Franco nel Trevigiano, Venice. 1511	33	Venice; Florence, Pal. Pitti; Rome, Pal. Pamphili.
	Hist. and Portraits	Correggio nel Reggiano - - 1534	40	Modena, the Duke's Collections; Parma, the Dome, Saint Antonio Abbate, S. Giovanni del monte, San Sepulchro; Florence, the Palace; Paris, the Palais Royal, &c.; Naples, the King's Collections.
	History	Florence - 1520	45	
	History	Florence - 1547	48	
	Grotesq. & monst.	Florence - 1521	80	
	History	Florence - 1529	58	

Names.	Studied under	Excelled in
* Michael Angelo Buonarotta .	Dominico Ghirlandaio	great correctness of design, grand & terrible subjects, profound knowledge of the anatomical part
* Raffaëlle Sanzio d' Urbino - -	Pietro Perugino: corrected his manner upon seeing the works of Lionardo da Vinci and Michael Angelo -	in every part of painting, but chiefly in the thought, composition, expression and drawing.
* Titiano Vecelli	Giovanni Bellini -	the clair-obscure & all the beauties of colouring -
Domenico Puligo -	Domenico Ghirlandaio	
5 Timoteo Urbino -	Raffaëlle - -	the same as his Master
Vicenzo da San Geminiano - -	Raffaëlle - -	
Lorenzo di Credi -	Andrea Verocchio, imitated Lionardo da Vinci	
Balthazar Peruzzi -		
Giovanni Francesco Penni, detto il Fattore	Raffaëlle - -	good imitation of his Master, and great dispatch
10 * Giulio Romano -	Raffaëlle - -	his Master's excellencies
Peligrino di Modena -	Raffaëlle - -	
Pierino Buonacorvi. detto Perin del Vago	Raffaëlle - -	
Giovanni da Udina -	Raffaëlle - -	animals, flowers, and fruits
* Andrea del Sarto	Pietro di Cosimo -	natural and graceful airs, and cor-

	Painted	Country, Place, and Year of their Death.	Aged	Principal Works are at
	History	Chiusi, presso d'Arezzo; Rome 1564	90	Rome, Capella Sistina, Capella Paulina, S.Giovanni Laterano: Florence, the Palace.
	Hist. and Portraits	Urbino, Rome 1520	37	Rome, theVatican, S.Pietro, in Montorio; S. Agustino, the Lungara, &c. Florence, the Palace; France, Versailles, the Palais Royal; England, Hampton-Court; Naples, the King's Collection.
	Hist. and Portraits	Cadore nel Friulese; Venice - 1576	99	Venice: Rome, in many Collections, &c.
	History	Florence - 1525	52	
5	History	Urbino - 1524	54	Rome, Madonna della Pace.
	History	S. Geminiano 1527	52	Rome, the Vatican.
	History	Florence - 1530	—	
	History, buildings	Sienna, Rome 1536	55	Rome, Madonna della Pace.
	History	Rome, Naples 1528	40	Rome, the Vatican; Lungura.
10	History	Rome, Mantua 1546	54	Rome, Vatican, &c. Mantua, the Palace Té.
	History	Modena - 1538	—	
	History	Florence, Rome 1547	47	Rome, Vatican: Genoa, Pal. Doria.
	Grotesques	Udina, Rome 1564	70	Rome, Vatican, &c.
	History Port.	Florence - 1530	42	Florence, the Palace, Monasterio de' Scalzi, &c.

	Names.	Studied under	Excelled in
			rect drawing; a bright manner of colouring
	Francia Bigio -	Mariotto Albertinelli	painted in company with & like Andrea
	Sebastiano, detto Fra del Piombo	Giov. Bellini; Il Giorgione, M.Angelo	painted in the strong and correct manner of this last, and coloured better
	Orazio Sammachini	Il Bagnacavallo, Innocenzo d'Imola	
	Lorenzetto Sabattini	the same - - -	
5	Prospero Fontana -	the same - - -	
	Lavinia Fontana -	Prospero her father	
	Pelestrino Tibaldi	Il Bagnacavallo, Innocenzo d'Imola	A strong Michael Angelo manner
	Primaticcio, detto il Bologna - - -	the same; Julio Romano	gentleness
	Nicolo Bolognese, detto Messer Nicolo	Primaticcio -	
10	Il Dosso - -	Lorenzo Costa, Titian	
	Bernazzano da Milano		
	Giov. Martino da Udina	Giov. Bellini -	
	Pelegrino da San Daniele	the same - -	
	Giovanni Antonio Regillo, detto Licinio da Pordenone	Giorgione - - -	fine colouring
15	Girolamo da Trevigi		
	Polidoro da Caravaggio	Raffaëlle - -	the correctness of design and imitation of the antique chiefly in chiaro-scuro
	Il Maturino - -	Raffaëlle - -	the same; they always painted together

Painted.	Country, Place, and Year of their Death.	Aged	Principal Works are at
			Rome, Pal. Borghese, &c. Naples, King's Collection.
History	Florence - ———	41	
History Portr.	Venice, Rome 1547	62	Rome, S. Pietro in Montorio, Cap. Chigi; France, Palais Royal
History	Bologna - 1577	45	
History	Bologna - - ———	—	
His. Por.	Bologna - - ———	—	
His. Por.	Bologna - - 1602	50	
History	Bologna, Milan 1592	70	Bologna, the Academy; Spain, the Escurial.
History	Bologna, France 1570	80	Fontainbleau; Chateau de Beauregard près de Blois.
History	Modena - 1572	60	Fontainbleau.
History Landsc.	Ferrara, Ferrara ———	—	
Animals, landsc. & fruits	Milan - 1550	—	
History	Udina, Venice 1564	70	
History	Venice - ———	—	
History Portraits	Pordenone nel Friuli, Venice 1540	56	Venice.
History buildings	Il Trevigiano, Engl. 1544	36	
History	Caravaggio, Messina 1543	51	Rome, Pal. Barberini, Maschera d'Oro, Casa di Belloni.
History	Florence - 1527	37	

	Names.	Studied under	Excelled in
	* Francesco Mazzuolo, detto Il Parmegiano	imitated Raffaëlle -	great delicacy and gentleness of drawing
	Girolamo Mazzuoli	Francesco, his cousin	whom he always imitated
	Giacomo Palma, detto Il Vecchio	Titian and others -	warm and mellow tints
	Lorenzo Lotto -	imitated Bellini and Giorgione	
5	Francesco Monsignori	Bellini - - - -	
	Domenico Beccafumi o Meccarino	imitated Pietro Perugino	
	Giacomo Pontormo	Lionardo da Vinci, Albertinelli; Andrea del Sarto	
	Girolamo Genga -	Pietro Perugino -	
	Giov. Antonio da Verzelli, detto Il Sodoma		
10	Bastiano Aristotile		
	Benvenuto Garofalo -	Baldini, Lorenzo Costa	like Raffaëlle
	Girolamo da Carpi -	Garofalo, he imitated Correggio -	
	Giov. Francesco Bezzi, detto Il Nosadella -	Pelegrino Tibaldi -	
	Ercole Procaccini -	the same - - -	
15	Bartolomeo & tre figli } Passerotti	the same - - -	
	Francesco Salviati -	Andrea del Sarto -	
	Giorgio Vasari -	the same - - -	
	Daniel Ricciarelli, detto da Volterra	Il Sodoma; Baldasar Peruzzi -	
	Taddeo Zucchero -	studied Raffaëlle -	
20	Frederico Zucchero -		painted with his brother
	Bartolomeo Cesi - -	Il Nosadella - -	
	Dionigi Calvart - -	Prospero Fontana -	

Painted	Country, Place, and Year of their Death.		Aged	Principal Works are at
History	Parma - -	1540	36	Parma, the Dome, Madonan della Steccata; in many Collections.
History	Parma - -	——	—	Parma, San Sepolchro.
His. Por.	Venice - -	1596	48	Venice, and in several Collections.
His. Por.	Venice - -	1544	36	
5 Portraits	Venice - -	1519	64	
History	Sienna - -	1549	65	Sienna, Pavement of the Dome.
History	Florence -	1558	65	Florence.
History	Urbino - -	1551	75	
History	—— Sienna	1554	—	
10 History	Florence - -	1551	70	
History	Ferrara -	1559	78	In a few Collections.
History	Ferrara -	1556	55	
History	Bologna -	1571	—	Bologna.
History	Bologna -	——	—	
15 History	Bologna -	——	—	
History	Florence -	1563	54	Florence.
His. Por.	Florence -	1584	68	Rome, Santa Croce; Florence, the Palace.
History	Volterra -	1566	57	Rome, S. Trinità del Monte, S. Agostino.
His. Por.	St. Angelo in Vado, nell' Urbino	Rome 1566	37	Rome, the Caprarola, Pal. Farnese.
20 His. Por.	——Rome	1609	66	Rome, several Collections.
History	Bologna -	——	79	
History	Antwerp, Bologna -	1619	54	

	Names.	Studied under	Excelled in
	John of Bruges -	Hubert Van Eyck	said to have invented Oil-Painting.
	Albert Durer - -	Hupes Martin - -	
	Quintin Matsys, called the Smith of Antwerp		Nature, high finishing
	Lucas Jacob, called Luca d'Ollanda	Cornelius Engelbert	
5	Peter Brueghel, called Old Brueghel	Peter Koëk - -	
	* John Holben, called Hans Holben		great nature, extreme finishing
	Roger Vandensyde -	John Van Eyck -	
	John Schorel - -	Jacob Cornil - -	
	Matthias Cock -		
10	Martin Heemskirke -	John Schorel -	
	François Floris, called Franc-Flore	Lambart de Liege	
	Francesco Vecelli -	Titian, his brother	
	Orazio Vecelli - -	Titian, his father -	
	Nadalino di Murano	Titian - -	
15	Damiano Mazza -	Titian - -	
	Girolamo di Titiano -	Titian -	
	Paris Bordone - -	Titian - -	
	Andrea Schiavone -	Titian - -	
	Alessandro Bonvincino detto, Il Moretto	Titian, imitated Raffaëlle	
20	Girolamo Romanino	Titian - -	
	Il Muttano - -	Titian, Tad. Zucchero	
	Pirro Ligorio - -	Giulio Romano -	
	Dom Giulio Clovio	Giulio Romano -	chaste and gentle colouring, somewhat of M. Ang. in the drawing

	Painted	Country, Place, and Year of their Death.	Aged	Principal Works are at
	His. Por.	Venlo in Guelders, Bruges - 1470	—	Ghent, the Cathedral.
	His. Por.	Nuremberg - 1528	57	In many Collections.
	His. Por.	Antwerp - 1529	69	Antwerp, the Cathedral; England, in Collections.
	His. Por.	Leyden - 1533	—	Leyden, Hotel de Ville, many Collections.
		Brueghel near Breda 1570	60	
5	His. Por.	Basil, London 1544	46	Basil, Hotel de Ville; England in many Collections.
	History	Bruges - ——	—	Brussels, Hotel de Ville.
	History	Alcmaer, Utrecht 1562	67	
	Landsc.	Antwerp - 1465	65	
	Droll figures	Heemskirke, Haerlem 1574	76	
10	History	Antwerp - 1570	50	
	Portraits	Venice - ——	—	
	Por. His.	Venice - 1579	66	
	Portraits	Murano, Venice ——	—	
	His. Por.	Padua - ——	—	
15	His. Por.	Venice - ——	—	
	His. Por.	Venice - 1588	75	
	History	Sebenico, Venice 1582	60	
	History	Brescia - 1564	50	
	History	Brescia - - 1567	63	
20	Landsc. Portraits	Brescia, Rome 1590	62	
	Antique monuments & buildings	Naples - 1573	80	
	Miniature, History	Sclavonia, Rome 1578	80	Rome, Vatican Library; Florence, the Palace; Naples, King's Collection.

	Names.	Studied under	Excelled in
	Il Bronzino, Angelo Allori	Giacomo Pontormo	
	Alessandro Allori -	Bronzino, his uncle	
	Giacomo Sementi -	Dionigi Calvart -	
	Marcello Venusto -	Perin del Vaga -	
5	Marco da Faënza -		
	Girolamo da Sermonetta	Perin del Vaga -	
	Battista Naldino -	Il Bronzino - -	
	Nicolo del Pomerancio		
	Jean Cousin - - -		commonly upon glass
10	Michael Coxis - -	Van Orlay, Raffaëlle	
	John Bol - -		
	Peter Porbus - - -		
	Antony More -	John Schorel -	
	George Hoefnaghel		
15	Camillo Procaccini -	Ercole, his father; Prospero Fontana	a dark, strong, expressive manner
	Giulio Cesare Procaccini	Ercole, his father; Prospero Fontana	A dark, strong, expressive manner
	Jude Indocus Van Winghen	studied in Italy -	
	John Strada - -	studied in Italy -	
	Bartholomew Sprangher		
20	Michael John Miervelt	Ant. Blockland -	
	* Paolo Cagliari, detto Paul Veronese	Antonio Badiglio -	rich and noble composition; fine warm colouring
	Carlo Cagliari - -	Paolo, his father -	imitated his manner
	Benedetto Cagliari	the same - - -	the same - -
	Gabrielle Cagliari -	the same - - -	the same - -

	Painted	Country, Place, and Year of their Death.		Aged	Principal Works are at
	His. Por.	Florence	1580	69	
	History	Florence	1607	72	
	History	Florence	1625	45	
	History	Mantua	1576	61	
	History	Faënza	——	——	
5	History	Sermonetta	1550	46	
	History	Florence	——	——	
	History	Pomerancio	1626	74	
	History	Soucy prôche de Sens; Paris	1589	——	Vincennes, the Minims; Paris.
10	History	Mechlin, Antwerp	1592	95	
	Miniatu. Landsc.	Mechlin, Brussels	1593	59	
		Bruges	1583	73	
	Por. His.	Utrecht	1575	56	
	Views of Cities, Landsc.	Antwerp	1600	——	
15	History	Bologna, Milan	1626	80	Milan; Genoa, the Annonciate St. Maria Carignano.
	History	Bologna, Milan	1626	78	Milan; Genoa, the Annonciate St. Maria Carinano.
	History	Brussels, Germ.	1603	62	
	Battles, hunting	Bruges, Flor.	1604	68	
	History	Antw. Vienna	1623	77	
20	Portraits	Delft	1641	73	
	History Portraits	Verona, Venice	1588	58	Venice, and almost every where.
	the same	Venice	1596	26	
	the same	the same	1598	60	
	the same	the same	1631	63	

	Names.	Studied under	Excelled in
	Battista Zelotti -	Ant. Badiglio, worked with Paul Veronese	
	Giacomo da Ponte, detto Il Bassano -	Francesco, his father, Bonifacio Venetiano, imitated Titian	much Nature, and fine colouring
	Francesco Bassano	Giacomo, his father	imitated his manner, and copied his pictures
	Leandro Bassano -	the same - -	the same -
5	Giambattista Bassano	the same - -	the same -
	Girolamo Bassano	the same - -	the same -
	*Giacomo Robusti, detto Il Tintoretto -	Titian, in his drawing imitated Michael Angelo	the strepito and mossa of his pencil; variety and correctness of design; seldom finished
	Marietta Tintoretto	Tintoret, her father	
	Paul Franceschi -	Tintoret - - -	
10	Martin de Vos -	Tintoret - -	
	John Rothenamer -	Tintoret - - -	designed after his manner
	Paolo Farinato -	Antonio Badiglio -	
	Marco Vecelli -	Titian, his Uncle -	
	Livio Agresti -	Perin del Vago -	
15	Marco da Sienna -	Dan. Volterra -	
	Giacomo Rocca -	Dan. Volterra -	
	Frederico Barocci -	studied Raffaëlle -	fine gentile drawing
	Il Cavaliero Francesco Vanni.	Fred. Baroccio -	correct design and agreeable colouring
	* Michael Angelo Amerigi, detto Il Caravaggi	Cav. Arpino -	a strong and close imitation of Nature, but without choice; exquisite colouring
20	* Ludovico Caracci	Prospero Fontana	exquisite design; noble and pro-

	Painted	Country, Place, and Year of their Death.		Aged	Principal Works are at
	History chiefly in Fresco	Venice -	1592	60	
	Rustic Figures Animals Por. His.	Vicenza -	1592	82	Venice, &c.
	The same	Venice -	1594	84	
	the same	Venice -	1623	65	
5	the same	Venice -	1613	60	
	the same	Venice -	1622	62	
	History Portraits	Venice -	1594	82	Venice, and every where.
	Portraits	Venice -	1590	30	
	Landsc.	-	1596	56	
10	Landsc.	Germany -	1604	84	
	History	Munich -	1606	42	
	History	Verona -	1606	84	Verona.
		Venice -	1611	66	
	History	Forli -	1580	—	
15	History	Sienna -	1567	57	
	History	Rome -	——		
	His. Por.	Urbino, Rome	1612	84	
	History	Sienna, Rome	1615	51	Sienna; Rome, St. Peter's; Genoa, Santa Maria in Carignano.
	History humorous figures	Caravaggio in Lombardy, Rome -	1609	40	Rome, Pal. Barberini; several Collections.
20	History	Bologna -	1619	64	Modena, Pal. Ducale; Bologna, S. Michel in Bosco,

	Names,	Studied under	Excelled in
			per composition; strong and harmonious colouring
	* Agostino Caracci -	Ludovico, his cousin	similarly accomplished
	* Annibale Caracci -	Ludovico, his cousin	similarly accomplished
	Domenico Zampieri, detto Il Domenichino	the Caracci -	correct design, strong & moving expression
	* Guido Reni -	Dionigi Calvart, the Caracci	divine and graceful airs and attitudes, gay and lightsome colouring
5	* Cav. Giov. Lanfranco	the Caracci -	great force, and *fulgore*, chiefly in fresco
	* Francesco Albani -	Dionigi Calvart, the Caracci	gentile, poetical fancy, beautiful airy colouring, his Nymphs and Boys are most admired
	Lucio Massari -	the Caracci -	
	Sisto Badolocchio -	Annibal Caracci	
	Antonio Caracci -	Annibal, his uncle	
10	Giuseppe Pini, detto, Cavalier Arpino	Raffaelle da Rheggio	the *furia* & force of his composition.

Painted	Country, Place, and Year of their Death.	Aged	Principal Works are at
			S. Giorgio, La Certosa, &c.
His. Por. Landsc.	Bologna, Parma 1602	44	Parma, Villa Ducale; Bologna, Pal. Magnani, La Certosa.
His. Por. Landsc.	Bologna, Rome 1609	49	Rome, Pal. Farnese, &c. Bologna, S. Giorgio, &c. several Collections.
History, Portraits	Bologna, Naples 1641	60	Rome, S. Girolamo della Carità, Santa Maria Trastavere, S. Andrea della Valle, S. Andrea in Monte Celio, Grotta Ferrata, Pal. Ludovisio; S. Peters', S. Carlo a Catinari, S. Silvestro, &c.
History, Portraits	Bologna - 1642	68	Rome, Pal. Rospigliosi, Pal. Spada, Capucini, S. Andrea della Valle, &c. Bologna, Mendicanti, S. Domenico, S. Michel in Bosco; and in many Collections.
5 History	Parma, Naples 1647	66	Rome, S. Andrea della Valle; Naples, S. Carlo de' Catinari; La Capella del Tesoro.
History	Bologna - 1660	82	The Duke of Modena's and many other Cabinets.
History	Bologna - 1633	64	Bologna, S. Michel in Bosco.
History	Parma - ——	—	Rome, Pal. Verospi.
History	Bologna, Rome 1618	35	Rome, S. Bartolomeo nell' Isola.
10 History	Arpino, Rome 1640	80	Rome, the Capitol, &c.

	Names.	Studied under	Excelled in
	Il Paduano - - -		
	Il Cigoli - -	Andrea del Sarto -	
	Domenico Feti -	Cigoli - -	
	Cherubino Alberti -		
5	Cavaliere Passignano	Frederic Zucchero	
	Orazio Gentileschi -	Aurelio Lomi - -	
	Filippo d'Angeli, detto Il Napolitano -		
	Paul Brill - - -	after Titian and Annibale -	
	Matthew Brill - -		worked with Paul his brother
10	Pietro Paolo Gobbo -		
	Il Viola - - - -	Annibal Caracci -	
	Roland Saveri -	imitated Paul Brill	much finishing, but dry
	Bartolomeo Manfredi	M. Ang Caravaggio	
	Carlo Saracino - -	imitated Caravaggio	
15	Il Valentino - -	M. Ang. Caravaggio	
	Giuseppe Ribera, detto, Lo Spagnuoletto	M. Ang. Caravaggio	a dark strong manner, dismal and cruel subjects
	John Mompre -	studied Nature -	
	Henry Cornelius Wroon, or Vroon - -	Corn. Henrickson	
	Agostino Tassi -	Paul Brill - -	
20	Fra. Matteo Zaccolino		
	Antonio Tempesta -	John Strada -	

	Painted.	Country, Place, and Year of their Death.		Aged	Principal Works are at
	Portraits	Padua -	——	—	
	History	Florence -	1613	54	
	History	Rome - -	1624	35	
	History	Rome -	1615	65	
5	History	Florence -	1638	80	Florence, the Dome.
	History	Pisa - -	1647	84	
	Landsc.	Rome, Naples	1640	40	
	Landsc.	Antwerp, Rome	1626	72	Rome, Vatican, Pal. Borghese, many Collections.
	Landsc.	Antwerp, Rome	1584	34	
10	Fruit, Landsc.	Cortona -	1640	60	
	Landsc.	Rome -	1622	50	Rome, Vigna Montalta, Vigna Aldobrandina, Vigna pia.
	Landsc.	—— - -	1639	63	
	History	Mantua - -	——	—	
	History	Venice -	1625	40	
15	History	France -	1632	32	
	History	Valencia -	1656	67	Naples, &c. many Collections.
	Landsc.	Antwerp -	——	—	
	Sea-ports Ships	Haerlem, Rome	——	—	
	Ships, Tempests, Landscapes, Fruit, Perspectives	Bologna -	——	—	Genoa; Leghorn; on the outsides of houses.
20	Perspec.	Rome - -	1630	40	Rome, St. Silvestro.
	Animals, Battles, Huntings	Florence -	1630	75	Florence, &c.

	Names.	Studied under	Excelled in
	Octavius Van Veen, called Otho Vænius		
	Jean Le Clerc -	Carlo Saracino -	
	Simon Vouet - -	Laurent, his father	
	Peter Noefs -	Henry Steinwick	
5	Henry Steinwick -	John De Vries - -	
	Theodore Rombouts -	Abraham Jansens -	
	Gerard Segres - -	Abraham Jansens -	imitated M.A.Caravaggio
	Sir Peter Paul Rubens	Otho Vænius -	admirable colouring; great magnificence & harmony of composition; a gay and lightsome manner
	Sir Antony Vandyck	Rubens - - -	his master's excellencies with more grace and correctness.
10	Rembrandt - -		great knowledge and execution of the Clair-obscure; high finishing, sometimes a very bold pencil and distinct colouring; vast Nature.
	Cornelius Polembourg	Abraham Bloemart	

	Painted.	Country, Place, and Year of their Death.		Aged	Principal Works are at
	History	Leyden	1634	78	
	History	Nancy	1633	—	Nancy, Les Jesuits.
	His. Por.	Paris; Paris	1641	59	Paris, in many Churches.
	Perspec.	Antwerp	1651	85	
5	Buildings, places illuminated by fire and candles.	Steinwick	1603	53	
	LowLife.	Antwerp	1640	43	
		Antwerp	1651	62	
	History Portraits Landscape,	Antwerp	1641	63	Flanders, Holland, &c. Dusseldorp; the Elector Palatine's Collec. France, Palais Luxemburgh, &c. England, Whitehall, &c. Genoa, St. Ambrosio, &c.
	Portraits History	Antwerp	London 1641	42	Genoa, Pal. Durazzo, &c. Flanders, Holland, &c. France, Versailles, &c. England, the Pembroke and Walpole Collections, &c.
10	History Portraits LowLife.	——	1674	68	France, King's and Monsieur's Collections, &c. &c. Florence, the Palace, Amsterdam, &c.
	Miniatur. Landsc. with figures	Utrecht	1660	74	Many Cabinets.

	Names.	Studied under	Excelled in
	John Brueghel, called Velvet Brueghel	Old Brueghel, his father	extreme neatness and finishing
	Moses, called the Little	Corn. Polembourg	
	F. Dan Legres -	Young Brueghel -	
	Gasper Craes -	Coxis - -	
5	Bartholomew Briemberg	studied at Rome -	
	John Asseylin, called Little John -	Esaias Vander Velde	
	Francis Snyders -	painted with Rubens	
	Ert Veest - -		
	Lewis Cousin -		
10	Philip Vauvremans -	John Wynants -	
	Gerard Dow -	Rembrandt -	
	Pietro Francesco Mola	Albani, Cav. Arpino	strong painting
	Giov. Battista Mola -	Albani - -	the same
	Giacomo Cavedone	Ludov. Caracci -	
15	Agostino Metelli -		
	Angelo Michale Colona	Ferrantino -	
	Giov. Benedetto Castiglione, detto Il Genoese	Paggi, Vandyke -	

	Painted	Country, Place, and Year of their Death		Aged	Principal Works are at
	Little Landsc. with figures, animals & flowers	Brussels -	1625	65	
	Small Landsc. with figures	—— -	1650	—	
	Flowers	Antwerp -	1666	70	
		Brussels -	1669	84	
5	Landsc.	—— - -	1660	40	
	Landsc.	—— - -	1660	50	
	Animals dead & alive	Antwerp -	1657	78	
	Sea-fights Tempests	Brussels -	1670	—	
		—— -	1670	—	
10		Haerlem -	1668	48	
	Little figures	Leyden -	1474	61	
	History	Como; Rome	1666	56	Rome, Monte Cavallo; Pal. Costaguti, &c.
	History Landsc.	—— - -	——	—	
	History	Bologna -	1660	80	Bologna, St. Michaeli in Bosco, &c.
15	Buildings, Perspective	Bologna; Spain	1660	51	Bologna, &c.
	Buildings History	Bologna -	1687	87	Bologna, &c.
		Genoa - -	——	—	

	Names.	Studied under	Excelled in
	Pietro Testa -	Domenichino -	capricious and strange designs
	Matthew Platten, called Il Montagna -	Asselyn - -	
	Francesco Barbieri, detto Il Guercino da Cento	the Caracci -	a medium between the Caracci and Caravaggio, he has two manners, one a dark and strong one; the other more gay and gracious
	Pietro Berrettini, detto Pietro da Cortona	Baccio Ciarpi -	noble compositions; bright & beautiful colouring
5	Antonino Barbalonga	Domenichino - -	
	Andrea Camaceo -	Domenichino -	
	Andrea Sacchi - -	Albani - - -	a colouring more languid than Pietro Cortona, but extreme delicate and pleasing
	Simone Cantarini -	Guido - - -	
	Cav. Carlo Cignani	Albani - - -	noble, bold manner and bright colouring
10	Pietro Facini -	Annibal Caracci -	
	Giov. Andrea Donducci detto Il Masteletta	the Caracci -	
	Alessandro Tiarini .	Prospero Fontana -	
	Leonello Spado - -	the Caracci -	
	Giov. Andrea Sirani	Guido - -	
15	Elisabetta Sirani -	Andrea, her father	
	Giacomo Sementi -	Guido - - -	
	Francesco Gessi -	Guido - - -	good imitation of his master

	Painted	Country, Place, and Year of their Death.	Aged	Principal Works are at
	History Whims	Lucca - 1650	39	
	SeaPieces	Antw. Venice ——	—	
	History	Cento nel Bolognese; Bologna - 1667	76	Rome, Vigna Ludovisia, St. Peter's; Grotto Ferrata.
	History	Cortona; Rome 1669	73	Rome, Pal. Barberini, Pal. Pamfili, Chiesa nuova, St. Peter's, St. Agnes; Florence, Pal. Pitti, &c.
5	History	Messina - ——	—	Rome, St. Andrea della Valle, Chiesa dei Theatini, &c.
	History	Bevagna; Rome 1657	55	Rome, St. Peter's, St. Giov. in Laterano, Pal. Palastrina, &c.
	History	Rome; Rome 1661	72	Rome, Pal. Barberini, &c. Chiesa di St. Romualdo, St. Carlo di Catinari, &c.
	History	Pesaro; Bologna 1648	36	
	History	Bologna; Bologna; 1719	91	Bologna, Pal. Davia, Certoso, &c.
10	History	Bologna - 1602	42	Bologna, &c.
	History	Bologna - 1655	80	Bologna, &c.
	History	Bologna - 1668	91	Bologna, &c.
	History	Bologna - - 1622	46	Bologna, &c.
	History	Bologna - - 1670	60	Bologna, &c.
15	Ilis. Por.	Bologna - - 1664	26	Bologna, &c.
	History	Bologna - - 1625	45	Bologna, &c.
	History	Bologna - - ——	—	Bologna, &c.

	Names.	Studied under	Excelled in
	Lorenzo Garbieri	Lud. Caracci -	
	G. Francesco Romanelli	Pietro Cortona -	
	Diego Velasquez -	Francesco Pacheco	great fire & force
	Alessandro Veronese -	Felice Riccio - -	a weak but agreeable manner
5	Mario de' Fiori - -		
	Michelangelo del Campidoglio	Fioraventi - -	
	Salvator Rosa - -	Spagnuoletto and Daniel Falcone	savage & uncouth places; very great and noble style; stories that have something of horror or cruelty
	Il Cav. Calabrese	Guercino - - -	
	Ferramola Fioraventi		
10	Il Maltese - - -		
	Claude Gelee, called Claude Lorraine -	Godfrey Wals; Agostino Tassi - -	rural and pleasing scenes, with various accidents of Nature, as gleams of sunshine, the rising moon, &c.
	Nicholas Poussin -	Quintin Varin -	exquisite knowledge of the antique; fine expression; skilful and well-chosen composition and design. Scenes of the country with ancient buildings and

	Painted	Country, Place, and Year of their Death		Aged	Principal Works are at
	History	Bologna -	1654	64	Bologna, &c.
	History	Viterbo; Rome	1662	45	France, &c. Rome, &c.
	Portraits	Spain - - -	1660	66	Rome, Pal. Pamfili; France, Louvre.
	History	Verona - -	1670	70	France, Versailles, &c.
5	Flowers	Rome -	1656	—	
	Flowers & Fruits	Rome - -	1670	60	
	Landscs. History	Naples; Rome	1673	59	Rome, Pal. Palavicini; Paris, the King's Collection, &c.
	History	Calabria -	1688	86	Rome, St. Andrea della Valle, &c.
	Vases, Instruments, Carpets, & Still-life	Brescia -	1612	—	
10	the same	—— - -	——	—	
	Landsc.	Toul; Rome	1682	82	Rome, Pal. Chigi, Altieri, Colonna; many Collections.
	History Landsc.	Andilly; Rome	1665	71	France, Versailles, Palais Royal, &c. Rome, Cav. Pozzo's Collection, and in many more elsewhere.

Names.	Studied under	Excelled in
Gaspar du Ghet, called Gaspar Poussin	Nicholas, his brother-in-law	historical figures intermixed a mixture of Nicolas & Claude Lorraine's style
Eustache Le Sueur	Simon Vouet -	simplicity, dignity, and correctness of style, he is called the French Raffaëlle
Michelangelo delle Battaglie	Mozzo of Antwerp	
Jaques Stella - -	his father - - -	painted upon marble frequently
5 Carlo Maratti - -	Andrea Sacchi -	
Luca Giordano - -	Lo Spagnueletto -	
Charles Le Brun -	Simon Vouet; Nicolas Poussin	
Cav. Giacinto Brandi	Lanfranco - - -	
Ciro Ferri - -	Pietro Cortona -	

Painted	Country, Place, and Year of their Death.		Aged	Principal Works are at
Landscs.	Rome - -	1665	—	Rome; Paris, &c.
History	Paris - -	1655	38	Paris, the Chartreuse and Hotel in the Isle Notre Dame, &c.
Battles				
History	Lyons; Paris	1647	51	Lyons; Paris, &c.
Min. 5 History	Ancona; Rome	1713	88	Rome; many Churches and Palaces, &c.
History	Naples - -	1705	76	
History	Paris - -	1690	71	Versailles.
History	Poli; Rome	1713	90	Rome, &c.
History	Rome - -	1689	55	Rome, St. Agnes, Pal. Monte Cavallo, St. Ambrozio, &c. Florence, Pal. Pitti.

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ESSAYS,

HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL,

ON

ENGLISH CHURCH MUSIC.

ΨΑΛΩ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΤΩ ΝΟΙ.

ESSAY THE FIRST,

ON

INSTRUMENTAL CHURCH MUSIC.

ESSAY THE FIRST.

Music, as an imitative art, ranks so much below Poetry and Painting, that, in my own opinion, which I have found confirmed by many late writers of the best judgment, it can hardly be so termed with propriety.* Notwithstanding this, it has certain qualities, so analogous to those which constitute Metre or Versification, such as Accent, Rhythm, Pause, and Cadence, that it thereby becomes, equally with Poetry, an object of criticism. It is, however, only within this century that, by our own writers, observations of a critical kind have been made upon it with any degree of philosophical precision.—Thus when Mr. Addison made the Italian Opera, which was then lately introduced into England, the object of his elegant ridicule, he chose rather to dwell on certain absurdities in its stage representation and dramatic execution, than on the merit or demerit of the composer or performers.—Hence a late musical historian † treated him with a flippancy that ill became him to express, had

* See Harris's Three Treatises, Dr. Beattie on Poetry and Music, and particularly Mr. Twining's Second Dissertation prefixed to his Translation of Aristotle's Poetics.

† Sir John Hawkins, in the Preface to his History of Music.

there been a just cause for it; but this was not the case, for there is one of his Spectators, No. 29, on the subject of Recitative, which contains very just observations on that peculiar species of Music, which may be called declamatory. Observations, which, had they been duly attended to by our earlier English Composers, might have produced, what we shall now probably ever want, a true national recitative; for the present seems only that of the Italian Germanized by Handel. I mention this criticism of Mr. Addison merely as the first of the sort I allude to, that has come within the compass of my reading, written by an Englishman.

Treatises on the art itself have been numerous. In these the masters of it have criticised their predecessors and contemporaries, but this only as grammarians have criticised grammarians; either for trespassing on the rules laid down by the old masters, for modulation and harmony; or for breaking, like Priscian's, Guido's head. But this, the reader sees, is widely different from the species of criticism I mean, and shall aim to pursue. Therefore, I think, I may safely affirm that the number of disquisitions, of this cast, on Music, has been much fewer than on Poetry, Painting, or any other of those operative modes of fancy and genius, who go under the hacknied titles of the fine and polite arts.

The French, vain of their national Music, as of every thing else, I suspect were, till of late, as deficient in treatises on the art, as we who made no such boast.

The indiscriminate praise, which they gave to Jean Baptiste Lully, we may justly suppose, was all that flowed from the pen of their writers, till the momentous critique of Jean Jaques Rousseau gave them to understand, that they had, in fact, no national Music at all. What this daring Swiss had the presumption to say, the Italian, the English, and every other European nation had long presumed to think. But it was reserved for his uncommon force of genius to put their general sentiments into the most eloquent and energetic language, and, after a literary conflict which nearly cost him his life, to gain a complete victory over the partizans of French Music; a victory so decisive, that the best judges in France itself, who had not before chosen to declare their sentiments, Messrs. D'Alembert, Diderot, and others, joined their critical forces with the Citizen of Geneva, and a musical revolution spread as speedily through the nation, as that political one, which, with sanguinary fury, is now hurrying to its crisis, while these sheets, written some years ago, are revising for the press.

However eccentric this singular writer was, who effected the great change we have spoken of, when treating upon religious, moral, and political subjects, it is certain, that there is less of paradox in his disquisitions on this topic, than on any other. Music was in fact his profession; upon the art itself he had bestowed intense application. Endued by nature with a fine and discri-

minating ear, with an exquisite sensibility and refined feeling, his taste, as well as intellect, led him not only to perceive minutely the effect of musical sounds in melodious succession, but of these too in harmonical combination; it enabled him to make deep and successful researches into the causes which produced these effects, and to discover how far the art could go, beyond soothing the ear, to its nobler end, that of moving the passions. Sometimes, it must be owned, that, in the writings he has left us, he refines too much, as indeed he does on every other subject; yet on the whole, I believe, the generality of those who combine musical feeling with musical knowledge, talents which are not constantly united, will readily allow, that both these qualities are not more conspicuous in any work of the kind extant, than in the Dictionnaire de Musique of J. J. Rousseau.

I have said at the commencement of this Essay, or it may be thence inferred, that it is in respect to Accent, Rhythm, and Cadence, Music becomes an object of that species of Criticism, which supersedes what is purely harmonical. Now, though this assertion be chiefly true of that succession of melodious sounds, which adapts itself to given words, and which we term vocal Music; yet that, which is simply instrumental, is by no means divested of these properties; for it is less or more perfect (the rules of modulation and harmony pre-supposed equally observed), in proportion as Accent, Rhythm, and

Cadence are either adhered to or neglected. Many great harmonists, even in the course of this very century, are remarkably deficient in these points; and however they may be supposed to excel the moderns with regard to fulness of Harmony, I will be bold to say, that they are much surpassed by their successors in delicacy of Melody; a merit, which certainly arises from their more studious attention to these three properties essential to Poetry.

But, as I write with a view to make myself intelligible to the hearers and admirers of Music, rather than the masters and composers, I must take leave to explain myself a little more fully on this point. By Musical Rhythm I mean something extremely analogous to Poetical Rhythm: thus, as Stanzas consist of Syllables, Pauses, and Verses; so a musical strain must have a given number of Notes, Bars, Passages in a certain proportion. Again, for the preservation of this Rhythm in Music, it is necessary that, at least, one note in every bar should be accented, just as one syllable in every word is; and, as no stanza can read pleasingly, unless proper pauses be introduced, and these arranged with variety; so in a musical movement we usually* find various rests, as the strain proceeds, answering to commas in verbal punctuation; and many half cadences, like semi-colons and

* I say *usually*, because certain airs are composed of notes of the same length, in which accent, or an addition of energy do the business.

colons, before it concludes: a perfect cadence then marks its termination, similar to that full point, either in verse or prose, where the sense is compleated, and which is called a period.

Having thus explained my meaning by that analogy, which certainly subsists between literary and musical compositions, I shall be understood at least, if not assented to, when I say that the Music both vocal and instrumental, produced by the composers in the early part of this century, was less accentual and rhythmical, than that of their later successors. When we hear the Music of the former performed, we may be pleased, it is true, and greatly pleased with the artful contrivance of its modulation, and the strong support given to its melody by its accompanying, or rather leading, harmony: yet, like that defect in prose which Mr. Pope calls a period of a mile, or like the long irregular stanzas of an ode, falsely called Pindaric, our ear will ever want due pauses to rest upon; our attention will find itself bewildered: the hand or foot, even the most experienced, will with difficulty beat time to it. By such Music we may be entertained and soothed, but seldom moved or affected. Its strains will be void of pathos and expression, and the memory of them, in consequence, imperfectly retained. But on the contrary where Rhythm, Pause, and Accent are peculiarly attended to by the composer, his productions will have an immediate and striking effect upon the hearer. He will comprehend

the spirit of the air at its very first opening; every succeeding passage will render it still more gratefully intelligible; and this however novel or uncommon the movement, or however varied by extraneous and unexpected modulation.

It may be said, perhaps, in opposition to this assertion, that it depends more upon the performer than the composer to make Music of every kind intelligible at least, if not affecting; that, either by his voice or his instrument, he may give to every bar its proper accent, and to every passage its proper pause; that he may execute certain strains in a rhythmical manner, which the composer formed by notes of an equal length. But experience proves this not to be the fact. A Mass or Miserere of Palestrina's, will never be found so intelligible, on the first hearing, as one of Pergolesi's, though sung by the same voices equally possest of the highest powers of intonation. Nor will a Concerto of Geminiani's be so readily understood, as an Overture of Jomelli's, though performed by one and the same perfect orchestra. I compare these later masters with one another, though nearly contemporaries, because the former, notwithstanding his great and allowed excellencies, was much less attentive than the other to the powers of Accent and Rhythm.

That species of Music therefore, which carries the intellect of the ear (if the expression may be allowed) completely along with it, and renders the air or melody,

at the first hearing, clear and distinct, is, in my opinion, to be found more perfect in the works of our modern masters, than in those of their predecessors. It will not however follow from this, that I hold the compositions of these their predecessors in disesteem.—Whatever superior merit rhythmical and accented Music may have for peculiar purposes, that which is less so, or even defective when thus considered, has great attractions of its own, though distinct from the other. My meaning only is, that it cannot properly be the object of such criticism, as I mean to employ in these Essays. This declaration, I hope, may secure me from the censure of those, who patronize and admire exclusively what they call Ancient Music; though some of it, and perhaps the best, did not exist beyond the period of the last sixty years.

Having said this by way of, what I think, necessary introduction, I shall proceed immediately to my general subject.

And here, I presume, it will neither be expected or wished, that I should enter upon any defence of Church Music. My business is only to inquire into its merits and demerits, as one, though a principal Genus of the Musical Science; and to investigate, not by the rules of Harmony and Modulation, but by those of Reason and Common Sense, when it has been well or ill composed, well or ill executed. I am very ready to allow, that it is by no means necessary to salvation, nor even absolutely to devotion; and that therefore it may be either admitted,

or rejected by any religious sect, in proportion as it corresponds, or does not, with its particular mode of religious worship. Those Christians, however, who admit it, as the Members of the Church of England do, will, I suppose, with no hesitation assent to the following propositions.

1st. If it be adopted only as a preparative to devotion, in order so far to affect the minds of the congregation, as to bring them into a composed, and therefore a proper state for the due performance of that duty, the Music employed ought to be of a kind, which experience has proved to be most efficacious in soothing and tranquillizing the spirits.

2d. If it should be thought expedient to accompany, or make a part of the act of devotion itself, and for that purpose have a choir to take the lead in the performance of this service, it is necessary that the Music be such, as will not perplex or bewilder the general congregation; but so simplified, that the supplications and thanksgivings, then expressed vocally and in musical strains, may both be distinctly heard, and clearly understood.

3d. If divested of a choir, Music should be held so useful an accessary to devotion, that all the congregation should audibly, or at least mentally join in that office, a species of melody so very simply constructed, that the generality may easily learn and perform it, ought to be exclusively adopted.

Under these three heads the reader will go before me

in apprehending, that every species of Church Music, now in practice, may be duly arranged; and, according to such arrangement, become distinct topics of critical speculation. The first, he will see, relates to Instrumental Church Music only; the second to that in our Cathedrals, in which the Organ accompanies the Choir; and the third to Parochial Psalmody. I shall employ this Essay on the first of these subjects.

When the Greek and Latin writers treat of Instrumental Music, it is, I believe, universally agreed that they seldom, if ever, consider it as separated from Vocal; their tragic dramas, and even their poetical recitations, being usually accompanied by instruments. Even their comedies had some certain musical strain peculiarly adapted to each, which the title pages of Terence's inform us was executed by right and left handed pipes, of the effect of which, though we can form no other conception than that these instruments regulated the declamation, yet we may assure ourselves that, as the name of the composer is specified, it was some peculiar effort of Musical Science. Neither did their orators address the people unassisted by a TONAPION, or pitch-pipe. There however can be no doubt but that they had also a species of Music purely Instrumental, which served the same purposes that we employ it for at present. For, as Virgil nobly expresses it, one of those was

Ære ciere Viros Martemque accendere cantu,

another to add dignity to civic processions; and a third

to inspire a reverential awe at religious ceremonies, and the performance of public sacrifices. The dance, it is true, sometimes accompanied those instrumental strains, and sometimes also the voice; yet they were frequently heard without either, as they were among the Jews, of which the Bible records various instances. Yet, as my present subject confines me to that Music only, which either was formerly, or is still used in Christian congregations, I shall content myself with supposing, for I will not assert it as a fact, that Musical Instruments were not introduced into the Church, till our religion became established by the civil power, when, it is to be believed, they would be employed much in the same manner, and perform similar movements to those they were accustomed to execute when attendant on the religious ceremonies of the Pagans, before they became under Constantine converts to Christianity. And this probably was the reason, why the earlier Fathers of the Church so much condemned musical devotion when instrumentally accompanied.

And indeed, till the invention of that noblest of all instruments the Organ was brought to some degree of perfection, we can hardly conceive, that the Hymns and Services of a Christian Church could be properly accompanied. The Tibiæ, the Cithara, and the Lyre, which may be called the genuine classical instruments, were little, if in any degree adapted to give force and solemnity to vocal and choral chaunting. They had their use, and a capital one, in dramatic recitation, and lyrical accom-

panyment, by marking the Rhythm, Accent, and Quantity of the iambic, and other poetical metres; but this use, in the æra I am speaking of, was quite superseded. Versification and Melody were now no longer in alliance; for, whether poetry or prose were in question, one slow and uniform intonation, consisting of notes of equal, or nearly equal length, was exclusively adopted. The term *figurate*, which we now employ to distinguish florid from more simple melody, was then used to denote that, which was simply rhythmical or accentual;* and such Music, as formerly served to make accompanying words more intelligible, was now anathematised for no other reason, probably, than because it had been applied to theatrical and profane purposes. An instrument, therefore, which added to the loudness rather than the *length* (as Dryden imagined) of *solemn sounds*, was now the accompanyment only wanted; and this the *vocal frame*, of which he supposed his St. Cæcilia to be the inventress, was of all others best adapted to produce.†

* I say this on Dr. Burney's authority, (and I cannot rest upon better) who has shewn, with much clearness and erudition, that *Canto Figurato*, in opposition to Canto Fermo, was anciently put to denominate Rhythmical Music, Canto Fermo being incompatible with Metre. *History of Music, vol. 2, p. 16, note c.*

† At length divine Cæcilia came,
Inventress of the Vocal Frame;
The sweet Enthusiast from her sacred store
Enlarged the former narrow bounds,
And *added length to solemn sounds*,
With Nature's mother-wit, and arts unknown before.
Alexander's Feast, last Stanza.

As therefore the judicious performance upon the Organ will be one of the principal topics of this Essay, I hope, it will not be displeasing to the reader, if I here select a few historical notices concerning its progress towards perfection, partly extracted from a very voluminous work, entituled, L'Art du Facteur des Orgues par D. Bedos de Celles, a Benedictine monk, printed 1766, which seems not to have fallen in the way of Dr. Burney during his indefatigable researches after materials for his History of Music; a work, in which a supreme knowledge of the art, and a judicious discrimination of its perfections and imperfections are uniformly conspicuous.

The Latin substantive Organum was in the earlier ages of the Church, if not long before, applied indiscriminately to a variety of instruments. This appears from the following passage of St. Austin's Comment on the Fifty-sixth Psalm. "All musical instruments are called "Organs, not only that which is slender and blown with "bellows, but also every one else of a bodily shape which "is adapted to song, and which the singer on that ac-"count employs." Hence therefore we are not to wonder, that so many mistakes of a chronological kind have been made concerning the origin of the Organ, and the periods, through which it came to perfection.*

* Organa dicuntur omnia instrumenta Musicorum, non solum illud Organum dicitur, quod gracile est et inflatur follibus, sed etiam quicquid aptatur ad cantilenam et corporeum est, quo instrumento utitur qui cantat, Organum dicitur. And even the

We shall also ourselves, I think, be under a mistake if we infer from this quotation that St. Austin, though he mentions bellows, means precisely what we now call an Organ; for from the epithet *gracile*, which I have translated slender, it seems to have only been a kind of organized Syrinx, or an inferior sort of Regalls in fashion about Queen Elizabeth's time; or rather such a portable pneumatic instrument which, if the word of Mersennus may be depended upon, was represented on an ancient monument in the Mattei Gardens in Rome, with a Latin inscription annexed. This represents a little cabinet with a few pipes arranged upon it, and an equal number of keys, on which a female figure is in the act of playing, while on the other side a man blows into the cabinet with a small pair of bellows, exactly like those in present use.*

Hebrew and Greek writers frequently use a general term for a single pipe, or a combination of them indiscriminately—Nay, sometimes for a concert of voices, which encreases the difficulty of ascertaining this point. By Guido, and the first writers on counterpoint, the word Organum was used for discant, which still more perplexes the matter.

See Dr. Burney's Hist. of Music, vol. 2, p. 75.

* Sir John Hawkins, in his History, vol. 1, B. 4, p. 403, gives us the inscription, and also an engraving of the monument. But the figures are by no means in the antique style, which makes me question its authenticity. If it be genuine, it will prove that the Romans had such an instrument in small, which may have led to all the improvements in later ages. The Emperor Julian's well-known Epigram proves, that they had enlarged upon the plan, by making (as it seems) the bellows of a bull's hide.

See Anthologia, lib. 1, cap. 86, ep. 8.

The learned Benedictine quotes also another passage on this subject from William of Malmsbury, which I think curious enough to translate. "By the violence of "hot water the wind coming out fills the whole cavity "of the Instrument, which, from several apertures pass- "ing through brass pipes, sends forth musical noises."* I here suspect, that by the word *ventus* the Monk meant steam; because the sound was produced by hot water, *aquæ calefactæ violentiâ*, and if so, we have a new purpose, to which the ingenious steam engineers of the present time may, if they please, employ it. And who knows but a certain noble mechanic, when he has navigated his ship with it, may place a steam Organ upon the poop and play *ça ira* upon it with peculiar propriety?

But to return *ex fumo*, and give what historical *light* remains on the subject; I shall translate another very singular passage, which de Celles has taken from du Cange, consisting of eight barbarous Latin verses, written by Wolstan in the tenth century.—They contain a most faithful description of an Organ erected at Westminster. The lines, I have said, are barbarous, and my translation of them will, I fear, not appear to be very delicate. It is however quite literal, and as such best calculated to give the English Reader an idea of that enormous machine.

* Aquæ calefactæ violentia ventus emergens implet concavitatem barbiti, et per multiforatiles transitus æneæ fistulæ modulatos clamores emittunt. *W. De Malms.*

Twelve pair of bellows, rang'd in stated row,
Are joined above, and fourteen more below:
These the full force of seventy men require,
Who ceaseless toil, and plenteously perspire;
Each aiding each, till all the wind be prest
In the close confines of th' incumbent chest,
On which four hundred pipes in order rise
To bellow forth the blast, that chest supplies.*

From this surprising description we are not, I think, to imagine that these seventy stout bellows-blowers kept their twenty-six bellows in action all the time the organist was playing. I rather suppose, that his performance did not commence till they had filled the chest compleatly with wind, which he was after to expend by due degrees, as he found musical occasion. However this be, it is matter of wonder, that an instrument, as to its principle of construction so very simple, however complicated its mechanism may be when that principle is applied to a variety of stops, should have been for so many centuries in a state of so much imperfection.

* Bisseni supra sociantur ordine folles,
Inferiusque jacent quatuor atque decem,
Quas agitant validi septuaginta viri;
Brachia versantes, multo et sudore madentes,
Certatimque suos quisque movet Socios.
Viribus ut totis impellant flamina sursum,
Et rugiat pleno Capsa referta sinu
Sola quadragentas, quæ sustinet ordine, Musas.
Wolstan.

For, according to my Author, the first keys were from five to six inches broad, and consequently, though said to be played by the hand, must, like the Carillons at present in Holland, have required the fist to perform that office. Again, the pipes, formed only of brass, must have been so shrill and piercing, that no sounds agreeable to the ear could have been produced by them.* Half notes, he tells us, were introduced at Venice so early as the beginning of the twelfth century; yet the compass of the Instrument had not then attained more than two Octaves; neither was its construction so far advanced, as to make it capable of being performed upon by both hands, till the fifteenth century; for which fact he quotes the authority of Gerson, cited by M. De St. Blaise. From Pretorius, whose work was printed so late as 1615, he learns, that Registers, by which only a variety of stops could be formed, were not invented till towards the conclusion of the preceding century. From all this we may justly conclude, that an Organ, in any degree deserving the name, could not have been fabricated many years before the æra of our Reformation.

Then indeed, as every part of the Church Service, except, perhaps, the Lessons, still continued to be per-

* The Organ at Aix, which claims the reputation, though a disputed one, of being the first of the kind, consisted, according to Pretorius, of brass or copper pipes; and it had such an effect on one of its female auditors, that she died on first hearing it. But whether from terror or rapture the Historian does not record: I suspect the former gave her the death blow.

formed musically, the Organ might have been employed singly, in order to suffer the officiating Priests and Choir to take their breath, as is still done abroad at proper intervals during High Mass, and also in all Protestant Cathedrals at stated times of the Service: neither is it omitted in such of our Parochial Churches, as are possessed of an Organ.

To the judicous performance upon this solemn Instrument, for the purposes which have been previously assigned,* my observations now naturally recur. In point of tonic power, I presume, it will be allowed preferable to all others, and fully capable of obtaining its end, without being assisted by any of them; nay, if it were deprived of all its numerous imitative stops, it would still do this, by its Diapason, Principal, and other organical pipes, which are of its very essence, and without which it would hardly now have a right to its name.

The species of Music executed upon it in those intervals, when it is permitted to be introduced during ecclesiastical service, is called in English a voluntary; and I know of no Italian or French term strictly of the same signification. Capriccio, perhaps, comes nearest. But, were I to define it, I would chuse to borrow the latter part of that eloquent definition (for he can be eloquent even in a definition) which J. J. Rousseau gives of a Prelude;* where, after saying simply that it

* Vide supra, page 295.

* Dictionnaire de Musique—Art. PRELUDE.

means "any irregular and short exertion of the Fancy, "passing through the essential notes of the Key, to try "whether the instrument be in tune before the Performer "begins his piece,"—he proceeds thus—"But on the "Organ, or Harpsichord, the Art of Preluding is much "more important: it is the faculty of composing, and "executing extempore, pieces replete with every thing, "either in Design, Fugue, Imitation, Modulation, or "Harmony, that a composition the most scientific can "exhibit. It is principally, during such a prelude, that "great Musicians, then exempted from that extreme "subserviency to rules, which the critical eye requires "them to attend to on paper, produce those brilliant and "skilful transitions, which enrapture the ears of an "audience. To do this, a perfect mastery of the Instru-"ment, a delicate and well-practised finger are by no "means all that are sufficient; that fire of genius, that "inventive spirit must be superadded, which instantane-"ously creates and executes passages the most congenial "to Harmony; the most seductive to the Ear." This is Rousseau's idea of a good Preluder, and if any of my Readers are old enough to recollect how the great Handel executed that kind of Capriccio, which he usually introduced upon the Organ between one of the Acts of his Oratorios in Covent-Garden Theatre, he will, I believe, agree with me, that words cannot more perfectly express the supreme excellency of that performance, than those which I have translated from this Swiss Critic. For

myself, I own that the superior manner, in point both of Vocal and Instrumental Performers, by which his Oratorios have been since executed in Westminster Abbey and elsewhere, cannot compensate for the want of that Solo, now alas! to be heard no more.

But, however well the above definition applies itself to a good Voluntary, it does not sufficiently describe that which is peculiarly calculated for Divine Service.—Other requisites are wanted to give Instrumental Music, as such, legitimate admission to a devout Audience. A musical composition, either premeditated or not, may have all that fire of genius, that inventive spirit applauded by Rousseau, and yet produce an effect quite opposite from that of tranquilizing the minds of its hearers. It may be too lively, too accented, and tend too much to excite passions very different from those, which are purely devotional. It is necessary, therefore, that this ætherial fire be kept in subjection, not so much by the rules of harmonical composition, as by those of prudence and discretion; so that, under these guides, its extemporaneous prolusion should flow on with that equable and easy modulation, which, while it gratifies the ear, should not too strongly affect the intellect. I demand no austere solemnity of strain; but I would reject all levity of Air. I require no recondite Harmony; but I deprecate too rhythmical a Melody. Nor let it be thought that I here contradict what I have before asserted concerning the superiority of modern Music: it may have, and, I think,

has all that peculiar merit which I then ascribed to it, and yet be ill calculated for the particular purpose of which I am now treating.

The Citizen of Geneva,* whom I have before quoted, would wish, that to the two general divisions of Harmony and Melody, by which Music is at present distinguished, two terms more might be added, that of natural and imitative. Natural Music, according to his idea, admits all the charms of Harmony and Melody; but Imitative, "by its eloquent vocality" (as he phrases it) "expresses "all kind of Passions; paints, as it were, all sorts of "Objects, and represents the various situations of the "human mind; makes all Nature subject to its judicious "imitations,† and thus strikes us even to the heart with "every sentiment capable of giving it emotion." It is this species of Music, which he calls "truly Lyric and "Theatrical," that he rightly supposes accompanied antient Poetry, and which now is attempted to be applied to the Drama, when vocally performed on the Opera

* Dictionnaire de Musique—Art. MUSIQUE.

† It is not to be supposed, that the terms here of so strong an import refer to the imitation of particular Sounds, Motions, &c. of a corporeal kind; it is the imitation of the human passions, that is here chiefly adverted to. How far the Musical Composer ought to go, with respect to those inferior imitations, has been well ascertained in a posthumous publication of Mr. John Brown, a Painter by profession in Scotland, entitled, "Letters upon the "Poetry and Music of the Italian Opera," see Letter IX. This elegant little book was printed at Edinburgh, 1789, and I wish to recommend it to my Reader, as a masterly piece of Musical criticism.

Stage. All this it confessedly does by Accent a
Rhythm; whereas, "natural Music, confined mere
"to the physical nature of sounds, and acting on
"upon the senses, never goes to the heart, and can b
"produce sensations less or more agreeable."

If then these two distinctions be attended to, I feel
if I should, in the course of this Essay, be acquitted
self-contradiction. I would however chuse to substitu
the epithets simple and impassioned, instead of th
adopted by Rousseau, because natural Music may
imitative, as in the exquisite and well-known Air
Handel, *Hush, ye pretty warbling quire,* where a na
ral; yet imitative symphony accompanies the impassio
strains of Galatea.* These terms, therefore, I shall e
ploy as occasion offers, the more precisely to convey
own meaning.

I pretend not to ascertain the time, when the Or
was first permitted to perform a Solo part in the Chu
Service. We may assure ourselves, however, that
breathed only harmonical strains, and was theref
what I have called Simple Music; for in this tern
combine Harmony however complex, and Modulat
however recondite, provided it be devoid of Pathos; a
as the severe laws of Counterpoint must have been

* See the just panegyric on this air by the Author cited in
preceding note: where with propriety he applies the term i
tative to Music, which according to Rousseau is natural,
consequently borrows a periphrasis to express the other spe

this time in full force, and the Melopeia of the Antients totally obliterated, it was hardly possible that Instrumental Music (especially that on the Organ) could in any degree deviate from Vocal; in which, as a multiplicity of parts adapted to different voices was the criterion of merit in a Composer, we must naturally conclude that the crouding together as many tones, as his fingers would suffer him to find keys to impress upon the instrument, would constitute the principal excellence of the performer. Dulness, or at least what we should think so, would probably be the result of his organical prolusion: yet, we may be assured, it would not be levity. To his contemporaries it would seem neither; who, having heard no other kind, would deem it not only solemn, but in perfect correspondence with the rest of the Service. Let it be considered also, that at the time I allude to, between the Reformation and the Restoration, there was little if any Music printed or published, that could serve as an Archetype for Instrumental Church Service, except such as was intended for Voice; therefore it can hardly be doubted, but such Organists, as were Masters of Canon, Fugue, and Counterpoint, would in those styles only execute their separate office.

Here then what are now called Voluntaries had their origin. But why they should, except for the sake of the name, continue to be always extempore productions, may perhaps not be satisfactorily defended.

During the time when Air was either not in existence, or quite in its infancy, I can easily conceive that Discant purely harmonical might be the best, because the only method of filling up the interstices of the Church Service instrumentally: and, I can suppose, that an adept in the science might give his scientific hearers supreme pleasure, by his skilful manner of resolving his discords, &c. while the general ear would be soothed with what would be simple Music, acoording to my use of the term, yet I cannot suppose, that to ears in any degree accustomed to Air, it would be so far agreeable, as to put the hearers in that state, which, we have said before, was the thing to be aimed at on these solemn occasions.

Yet, at the time when Music was purely harmonical, it certainly had such an effect. I speak this on the authority of Milton, (and I cannot quote a greater) who recommended this species on the Organ, as the fittest mean for composing the minds of his young Academicians after they had concluded their gymnastic exercises; and as he could not possibly have heard any other than such Music, in which Harmony chiefly prevailed, the following fine passage in his tractate on Education may here be fitly quoted. "The interim," says he, "may both "with profit and delight be taken up, in recreating and "composing their travailed spirits, with the solemn and "divine harmonies of Music heard or learnt; either "while the skilful Organist plies his grave and fancied

" Discant in lofty Fugues, or the whole Symphony with " artful and unimaginable touches adorn and grace the " well studied chords of some choice Composer."

The former part of this quotation, the reader sees, accurately describes the extempore mode, of which I am now treating;—and the latter the premeditated. By analyzing, therefore, the great Poet's ideas, the less informed Reader will comprehend all that is necessary on the subject. In the first place, the performer of a good Voluntary must be *skilful* both in the theory and practice of his art; for without a full share of theoretical science, as well as a practised executive finger, it will be impossible for him either to invent within the rules of legitimate composition, or convey, what his fancy spontaneously produces, with any truth or precision to his Auditors. His *Discant** must be of a grave and solemn cast throughout, yet enlivened with sufficient *fancy* to preserve it from being dull and tedious. And lastly, the *Fugue* is the best species of Music he can employ, provided its subject be *lofty* or sublime, which it can only be by deviating from every thing that is trivial, secular, or common. The Fugue is indeed come into disrepute with modern Masters, and with reason; because it does neither so easily and generally admit, nor so

* By Discant, the Musicians of Milton's time meant preluding on a given ground, which, from the specimens they have left us, was extremely plain and simple, consisting of a very few bars, and therefore not worthy of the name of Air.

variously introduce those accentual inflections, which they love to employ, with a view of imitating the present mode of vocal, impassioned Music, that produces its effect more from rhythmical than harmonical principles. It is too fluent for their purpose. It has, notwithstanding, a merit peculiar to itself, which is never so fully perceived as when executed on the Organ by an extempore Performer, provided he has all the requisites of invention, science and execution, which Rousseau requires in a good Preluder. It may here be observed, that what the modern Composers have in a great measure rejected, the more antient were so fond of, that even their partizans at present, will hardly admit a Chorus or a Concerto to be a grand one, in which a Fugue does not constitute the principal movement.

Yet since the introduction of Air, I am apt to think that a mode of Voluntary might be pursued of much less elaborate contexture than this, which would much more perfectly answer our assigned purpose. Prompt, and, as it were, casual strains, which do not fix the attention of the hearer, provided they are the produce of an original fancy which scorns to debase itself by imitating common and trivial melodies, are, of all others, the best adapted to induce mental serenity. We in some sort listen to such Music, as we do to the pleasing murmur of a neighbouring brook, the whisper of the passing breeze, or the distant warblings of the lark or nightingale; and if agreeable natural noises have the power of soothing the

contemplative mind, without interrupting its contemplations, simple musical effusions must assuredly have that power in a superior degree. All that is to be attended to by the Organist is to preserve such pleasing simplicity; and this musical measures will ever have, if they are neither too strongly accented, nor too regularly rhythmical. But, when this is the case, they cease to soothe us, because they begin to affect us. Add to this, that Air replete with short cadences and similar passages, is apt to fix itself too strongly on the memory; whereas a merely melodious or harmonical movement glides, as it were, through the ear, awakens a transient pleasing sensation, but leaves behind it no lasting impression. Its effect ceases, when its impulse on the auditory nerve ceases; an impulse strong enough to dispel from the mind *all-eating Care*, (to use our great Poet's own expression) but in no sort to rouse or ruffle any of its faculties, save those only which attend truly devotional duty.

But, when I say this, I would not be supposed to mean that these lullaby strains, (as some of my Readers may, perhaps, please to call them) should be exclusively adhered to, except when preparative to devotion. If the Organist preludes an Anthem of praise or thanksgiving, a spirited movement is certainly in its place, if kept within the limits which dignified exultation would prescribe; or, if the Anthem, which is to succeed his Voluntary, be of a supplicatory or penitential cast, he is then free to exert his utmost power of pathetic expression.

I would only wish, that, in either of these instances, he avoided too marked a melody. Nothing, I fully grant, affects a hearer on some occasions more than a March, and nothing is more accentual and rhythmical than that movement; yet the judicious Organist, whenever he adopts it, will take care to difference it greatly from the usual military airs of that species, and if he preserves the measure, will vary the mode. Instead of using either the trumpet stop, or the full organ, he will modulate on a few of the more delicate and softer series of pipes, which the variety in that sublime instrument affords him. He will call to mind the noble passage in Milton, who, after he has arrayed his fallen Seraphs, makes them move

> " In perfect phalanx to the Dorian mood
> " Of flutes, and soft recorders." *

The Siciliana movement is also of a very rhythmical kind; yet, when executed with taste and tenderness, comes under the denomination of Simple Music, and may most fitly be adapted to ecclesiastical purposes. In vulgar hands, however, nothing is more apt to degenerate into those *light quirks of Music, broken and uneven*, which, as our great satiric Poet expresses it,

> " Make the soul dance upon a jig to heaven." †

* Paradise Lost, Book I. v. 550.
† Pope's Moral Essays, Ep. IV. v. 143.

On the contrary, the Organist, who feels what he performs, and recollects the place and occasion of performance, will not fail to throw in those Apogiaturas and delicate notes of passage, which from accentual change it into fluent Melody.

But is this attention to strict propriety to be expected from any practical Musician of the present day? Certainly not. Brilliant and rapid executive powers are what they chiefly aim at, and what their audience almost exclusively applaud. To produce a fine tone, is what is also, and more justly, held in high estimation: but this is a merit which belongs not to the Organist, but the Organ-maker; he is excusable, therefore, in my judgment, for frequently overstepping the boundary of solemnity, so long as extempore performance remains his peculiar office, which, I think, might now with more propriety admit of a change, than at the first introduction of the Voluntary. It was then, and could only be (as we have seen) simple and harmonical; but since the invention of Air, it must lose all power of pleasing, if novel arrangements of melodious sounds do not rather lead than follow their accordant harmonies. This requires an innate inventive faculty, which is certainly not the lot of the many; and the happy few who possess it, I cannot think will at all times be able to restrain it within the bounds which Reason, and, in this case, Religion would prescribe.

It were to be wished, therefore, that in our established

Church extempore playing, were as much discountenanced, as extempore praying; and that the Organist was as closely obliged, in this solo and separate part of his office, to keep to set forms, as the officiating minister; or, as he himself is, when accompanying the Choir in an Anthem, or a parochial congregation in a Psalm. Of these musical set forms however he might be indulged with a considerable quantity, and, if he approached in some degree to Rousseau's high character of a Preluder, he might be allowed to discant on certain single grave texts, which Tartini, Geminiani, Corelli, or Handel would abundantly furnish, and which may be found at least of equal elegance and propriety in the Largo and Adagio movements of Haydn or Pleyel.

But if these restraints, or more judicious ones, were put upon the executive powers of the Organist, I question whether at present the congregation would be affected so forcibly with, what I will venture to call, truly devotional strains, as they formerly were with Music of far inferior efficacy. The pealing Organ, in Milton's time, and previous to it, was properly, what it ought ever to have been, a sacred instrument, ordained almost exclusively to

Blow
To the full-voic'd choir below,
In service high, and anthem clear,
As *may* with sweetness, through *the* ear,

Dissolve the *soul* in ecstacies,
And bring all heav'n before *our* eyes.*

Now we know its peculiarly grave, as well as affecting tones, are become common and trivial. They, therefore, who know the power of ideal associations must own, that on this single account it has lost much of its original dignity, I may even add sanctity. Another, and perhaps a much greater detriment has been sustained by the Organ from the admission of instruments, which are purely secular, into the Cathedral Service. The jocund Rebeck,† whose first and appropriate purpose was

To sound
(When the merry bells ring round)
To many a youth, and many a maid,
Dancing in the chequer'd shade;‡

has, since Milton's time, under the prouder denomination of a Violin, presumed to mingle its heterogeneous tones with those of the Organ, and on some occasions almost to overpower them.

Sorry I am to accuse the greatest genuine English composer, Purcel, and the best adopted one, Handel, of

* See Il Penseroso, T. Warton's 2d ed. p. 92.

† See Mr. T. Warton's Note (in loco) page 55 of his 2d edition of Milton's Poems.

‡ L'Allegro, same page.

being the cause of this innovation;* the former by adding Violin accompaniments to some of his anthems and services, the latter by erecting an Organ on the play house stage, with a view undoubtedly to difference as much by its dignified form, as by its solemn tones, that semi-dramatic species of composition the Oratorio from a genuine Opera. Let it not, however, be thought, that I mean to depreciate the Violin by any thing I have here said, especially by deducing its parentage from so very mean and vulgar an ancestor.—On the contrary, I hold it, in its present improved state, and in the hands of a Giardini, a Cramer, or a Giornovichi, in supreme admiration. I know and confess that this and the Violoncello are the most perfect of all stringed instruments; that the Organ, like the Harpsichord, is incapable of expressing those delicate gradations of Forte and Piano, Diminuendo and Crescendo, which add such peculiar grace to accentual melody; to remedy which defect in these keyed instruments, another has of late been successfully introduced, taking its name from one defect that it was intended to remove.—Yet after all, a fine Violin must, and ever will be, the best adjutant to a fine voice. Hence it is, that modern composers judiciously affix a Violin accompaniment to the Vocal Part, and confine the keyed instrument to that Thorough Bass, which may assist with its Chords the Violoncello; and this in perfect con-

* For these two facts I rest on Dr. Burney's authority. See History of Music, V. III. p. 484; V. IV. p. 360.

sistency with the present refined state of our secular Music. Yet this Essay, if it tends to any real purpose, tends to establish a discrimination between what is secular and what is sacred; and therefore I feel myself in this place obliged to assert that, as on the one hand no instrument should ever have been admitted into the Church, the tone of which was naturally calculated to produce merriment and festivity, so on the other, the sublime and solemn character of the Organ should never have suffered that degradation, which, during this century and the latter part of the last, it has been its fate to experience.

But I will go further; I will assert, that all musical sounds breathed from wind instruments (of which the organ is surely the principal, because it can imitate them all) never accord with those drawn from the string by the bow; and that by their dissimilarity of tone and temperament they miserably injure one another.

What is it that makes the Music on the Parade in St. James's Park so constantly attract the attention of the general ear, in so singularly pleasing a manner? Is it because the strains are what Shakspeare poetically calls of the spirit-stirring or ear-piercing species? Certainly not; for they are generally soothing, and sometimes even pathetic. No: it is because the sound of every individual instrument bears a perfect affinity with the rest; because they are all of the same tribe and family; all generated in the same manner, and, of many per-

fectly united melodious members, forming one complete harmonious body. I will be bold to say, that every good natural ear must, at least on the first hearing of such Music, have felt a most singular sensation from this simple combination of wind instruments, superior, so far at least as pleasure depends upon tone, to any other. With myself, it has continued through life.

Again, let me ask a person of the most refined musical taste, an absolute cognoscente, if you please, when he has heard the finest Quintetto of Haydn executed by four of the first Violins in the kingdom, and the finest Violoncello, if he would desire it to be repeated with a duplication of the parts performed by Flutes, or Hautboys and a Bassoon? If he should, I must shrewdly presume, that a love of the Sonorous has unaccountably mingled itself with his passion for the Pathetic and Sublime.

My own opinion, however, on this point, which some persons may think I have expressed in too dictatorial a manner, ought to be supported by better authorities than my own; and two such are not wanting.

The late Mr. Gray, the justness and delicacy of whose musical taste must still be held in remembrance by his few remaining friends, was clearly of the same sentiment. To convince my reader of this, let me request him to cast his eye on that idea which he gave of a proper Overture for his Ode, intitled 'The Bard,' which I printed from his manuscript, and is to be found in my second note on that exquisite poem. Here, although

present musical propriety required him to admit both wind and stringed instruments, it will be found that he sedulously prescribed, that their very dissimilar tones should never be blended; and this in subserviency to our common opinion which, I know, was with him a favourite one, though, like myself, he never expected it to be put in general practice; for he well knew, that when any art has overstepped the boundaries of simplicity, it very seldom deigns to take that retrograde motion, which would bring it within its true limits: and how far Instrumental Music has exceeded these, the present mode of performing Oratorios is a powerful instance.

Pope, when he gave the illustrious Handel, their first introducer, a just and noble panegyric, spoke perhaps hyperbolically, when he compared him

"To bold Briareus, with a hundred hands."

We must now read near five hundred, to give a competent idea of his Musical Phalanx, of which the Organ seems to be the least principal; because it is seldom, if ever, distinctly audible, except when before the opening of the Overture it gives that pitch-note in full, which always leads me to expect a succession of more solemn sounds than in reality succeed it.

My second authority is still greater, because founded on a public fact of recent and happy celebrity; when "a more striking, more awful, more dignified, more

" interesting, more edifying spectacle was exhibited, in " the venerable Cathedral of St. Paul's, than scarce ever " was presented to the observation of mankind."* On this most solemn of all occasions, let it be remembered, that a judicious prohibition of every other instrument, during Divine Service, left the Organ in full possession of its too frequently violated rights. Then it was, that it joined its deep-toned symphony, not only with *the full-voiced choir below*, but with six thousand infant voices arranged round that immense dome, which re-echoed with the praises of their Maker, for the recovery of their Sovereign: then it was, that every ear felt the stupendous effect both of unison and harmony purely devotional, and that every heart glowed with pious and loyal rapture. Nor let this be tamely imputed to the general effect of sympathy. I will grant, that the scene and occasion, singly considered, might have elevated sympathy to the highest degree of sensibility, had the Church Service been merely recited; yet, I still affirm, that the species of Music then commanded to be performed, was, of all other, the best calculated to accompany that awful act of thanksgiving. With respect to my own feelings, I am convinced that, if I could have had the happiness of

* I here employ the well-appropriated epithets of Dr. Porteus, Bishop of London, who preached the Thanksgiving Sermon, April 24, 1789. See his Second Volume, p. 326, for the whole eloquent and pathetic passage.

being present at the august ceremony, I should have been infinitely more affected by that plain Cathedral, and still plainer parochial Music, than by a new Te Deum executed by the best and most numerous band of vocal and instrumental performers; even if a genius equal to Handel's had composed the Score, and led the Orchestra.

END OF THE FIRST ESSAY.

ESSAY THE SECOND,

ON

CATHEDRAL MUSIC.

ESSAY THE SECOND.*

At the time of the Reformation CATHEDRAL MUSIC, as has been mentioned in the foregoing Essay, was extremely intricate. Abstruse harmonical Proportions, which had neither common sense, nor, in this case a better judge, the approbation of the common ear, for their support, were universally and diligently studied. Hence arose a multifarious contexture of parts, a total disregard of simple Melody, and, in consequence, a neglect even of syllabic distinction; insomuch that notes originally set to any words, in any language, might readily be adapted to different words in that or any other; being also totally inexpressive of sentiment, they were as well, or rather as ill, calculated to answer the purposes of praise as of penitence, of sorrow as of joy. Accordingly, we find that the thirty-two Commissioners, who were appointed to reform the Ecclesiastical Law in the time of Henry VIII. and who executed their commission in the days of his son Edward VI. justly condemned this species of singing, as causing confusion in the audience, and

* This Essay was originally prefixed to a Collection of the Words of Anthems, &c. in the year 1782; it is here reprinted with some additions.

rendering the very language it was meant to express unintelligible.*

This intricate or, as it was then termed, curious Music had, it seems, at this time, taken possession of the whole Church Service; it not only was joined to the Psalmodical and supplicatory part, but even with those few fragments of Scripture which were selected from the New Testament and admitted into the Liturgy, under the title of Epistle and Gospel; these were all sung, not merely in simple intonation or chaunt, but in this mode of figurate Discant, in which the various voices following one another, according to the rules of an elaborate Canon,

* The words are, " Itaque vibratam illam et operosam musicam quæ figurata dicitur auferri placet, quæ sic in multitudinis auribus tumultuatur, ut sæpe linguam non possit ipsam loquentem intelligere." I was some time at a loss to find out what was the meaning of the epithet *vibratam* in this passage, but the verb *tumultuatur* seems to explain it; for when we consider that this music was constantly choral, it was necessary each performer should, in order to do justice to his part, make it audible; hence each voice, struggling with the rest for audibility, the result was mere noise. I would, therefore, translate it *Noisy Music*, which choruses, as commonly performed, continue to be at this day. The epithet *operosa*, I suppose, means difficult to be learnt, which this music certainly was, and withal not worth the pains of learning—See *Ref. Leg. Eccles.* c. v. Yet it may probably have been used literally for labour both of lungs and limbs; for from a passage which I lately saw translated from Ailred, Abbot of Revesby, and which might be added to what I have said of the first Organ in my prior Essay, it appears that Music was a very *Operose* business in the twelfth century, and possibly continued so, with little abatement, till the Reformation. —See *Andrews's History of Great Britain*, vol. i. p. 231.

were perpetually repeating different words at the same time.*

It does not appear that King Henry VIII. did any thing towards reforming these absurdities; which indeed he could not have done without sacrificing a part of his own science, that we may suppose he held valuable; for he was himself a composer in this mode, as an Anthem left behind him sufficiently proves; which Dr. Boyce has given in complete Score, as the first piece in his Collection of Cathedral Music; yet it is so devoid not only of syllabic but metrical distinction, that the skilful Editor of that Score seems not to have discovered that it was metre; for he has printed the first line, *O God, the maker of all things*, which destroys the subsequent rhyme. I shrewdly suspect that King Henry was the author of the words as well as the music, for they are certainly very Royal Poetry.†

* One example of this kind may suffice, and a more ridiculous one can hardly be conceived; I found it accidentally in a Missal or Breviary, in the Library of the Cathedral at York, printed in the reign of Queen Mary. The Genealogy in the first Chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel was there set to Music, and the single part noted led me to conclude, that, if it was performed in Canon, according to the mode of the Age, while the Bass was holding forth the existence of Abraham, the Tenor, in defiance of Nature and Chronology, would be employed in begetting Isaac; the Counter-Tenor, Jacob; the Treble, Joseph and all his Brethren.

† Dr. Burney, in his History, doubts whether the Music be the King's own, "for on a careful examination, it appears to him, not only too good for his Majesty, but almost for any English Composer during his reign."—See his *History of Music*,

In the reign of his son Edward VI. John Marbeck, an Organist of Windsor, noted the new Liturgy in English, and his notes were printed in the year 1550;* it is not, however, clear that in the short reign of that King, his Music was universally established in our Cathedrals, or had the Royal sanction. However this be, the Service, which Thomas Tallis composed in the reign of Queen Elizabeth,† was so very similar to Marbeck's with respect to its plan, that Dr. Boyce was certainly in an error when he gave to Tallis the merit of being the first Composer of the musical part of Divine Service in the English language.‡

One thing is very remarkable in these two compositions, that those parts or versicles, which are meant to

vol. iii. p. 1, chap. 1. I take for granted Dr. Boyce corrected it before he published it, since the Historian seems to have reviewed it in his edition. It appears from the same Author, that King Henry composed a Motett beginning *quam pulchra es, O amica mea!* which he thinks "not too masterly for a Royal Dilettanti." As these words are taken from Solomon's Song, probably the Monarch selected them about the time when (as Mr. Gray pleasantly expresses it)

—— Gospel light first dawn'd from BULLEN's eyes.

* It is to be found in Sir John Hawkins's *History of Music*, vol. iii. p. 470, who has also given many curious anecdotes of this singular person, and also in Dr. Burney's, vol. ii. p. 578.

† In the intervening reign of Queen Mary, all the old Popish Missals and Liturgies were re-printed at considerable cost, and their use ordained. One of these I have already quoted in a former note.

‡ See his succinct Account of Musical Composers prefixed to the first volume of his Cathedral Music

be pronounced by the Priest in a kind of chaunt that frequently varies very little from a monotone, are yet syllabically distinguished by notes of different musical duration, and this with such exactitude, that if we consider them merely as marks of the length of syllables, and of due pauses, without any reference whatever to Music, they may still be looked upon as good guides to a speaker, or reciter of those parts of the Service. In the Responses also, which are noted for various voices, this syllabic distinction is sufficiently attended to: but in the Te Deum and other Hymns, where somewhat more than intonation or chaunt is introduced, it is greatly if not entirely disregarded. Figurate Discant here begins to take place; which, if not so intricate and curious as it was in the Popish Liturgy, is yet too much so to convey to the hearer the words with sufficient distinctness, to enable him to go easily along with the choral performers, and comprehend what sentence they are singing: a defect which, as it certainly arises from the kind of music there employed, ought to have been remedied by one which was united more closely with syllables and their accents: Yet the remedy is still to seek, for the numerous Composers who succeeded Tallis, in setting the same parts of the Liturgy, rather increased than diminished this indistinction of the words, by introducing more elaborate harmonies, and by making the sense, in consequence, still more subservient to the sound; and the later Composers, though more intelligible than their predecessors, have not yet conde-

scended to make so great a sacrifice of their Musical Science to Simplicity, as Church Music seems to require, to make it perfectly answer its purpose.

That musical sounds, when applied to express words, should have this ill effect, does not arise from the intrinsic nature of those sounds, we have many reasons for concluding. Little as we know of the antient Greek and Roman Music, we may yet be certain, from the concur rent voice of all antiquity, that it highly assisted the sense, and marked the measure so precisely, that without its aid the higher kinds of Poetry were found defective.* We know too that our own simple Melodies, when they are really simple, and not broken into too many divisions of notes, never induce any degree of obscurity. Our Harmony also, when it proceeds equably and regularly, is generally as intelligible as a Chorus would be when performed in unison, and when it is otherwise, the defect arises rather from the inarticulate manner of the performer than from the species of composition. It is, therefore, only the misapplied art, which combines a variety of parts in various intricate manners, and gives to the different voices that perform those parts, different words to express at the same time, which occasions this confusion; a confusion which constantly perplexes the common ear, and which the most practised in harmony cannot always easily develope.

* See a note on Mr. Gray's Poems, vol. i. p. 119, last edition in small octavo.

The disregard of melodious Air was a necessary consequence of this affectation of harmonical science, just as at the same time, plain and solid reasoning gave place to metaphysical subtilties, among the learned; for I am speaking of an age when every thing was scholastic; when there were Schoolmen in Music as well as in Letters; and when, if learning had its Aquinas and Smiglecius, music had its Master Giles and its Dr. Bull, who could split the seven notes of Music into as many divisions as the others could split the ten Categories of Aristotle. A Descant of thirtie-eight proportions of sondry kind was the wonderful work of Maistre Giles; but Dr. Bull could produce to the astonished reader (not hearer, for the hearer would know nothing of the matter) a piece of harmony of full forty parts. I should not have taken pains to put down this nonsense, were not an absurd multiplication of more than four even still affected by professed Harmonists.

But before I proceed further, I would wish to premise, that whatever I say critically on this subject, I mean to confine not only to Vocal Music, but to that particular species employed in our Cathedral Service. The title of this Essay might perhaps sufficiently denote this: but as I shall frequently use the general term Music, without any epithet of discrimination, I think it right here to explain my precise meaning, and also to intimate that it is the defect of intelligibility that I mean chiefly to lay to its charge: A defect which, if it did not really

subsist, would give no occasion to supply the congregation with an Anthem-Book, a thing now constantly found necessary in all Choirs, nay, one for a similar purpose at the performance of English Operas and Oratorios, and what is more wonderful, even at those performed in Italy. This appears from the celebrated Count Algarotti's Treatise on the Opera, where he entitles his chapter on the poetical part *Il Libretto*.* However, with respect to my present subject, was Church Music simplified so much as it ought to be, the ear would not then require the assistance of the eye, in order to be convinced (as a good Protestant ought) that what was sung was not sung in an unknown tongue.

And I chuse to explain my meaning thus particularly, because I am well aware that many profound Harmonists may be disgusted at what I have already advanced, and think their craft in danger, when I seem to attack the very citadel of Music: But I mean no such thing, I mean only to restrain them to a more simple kind of Harmony when they compose for the service of the

* I question much if, at Athens, when the Tragedies of Sophocles, &c, were exhibited, one part of the trade of the Orange Wenches in the Theatre was the sale of *a Book of the Tragedy*.

How great a dramatic writer would Metastasio have been, had he not been compelled, in subserviency to his musical Composers, to furnish them only with *Libretti!* It must however be allowed, that his Lyrical Dramas, as originally written, in respect to theatrical contrivance and judicious developement of the story, infinitely excel the generality of our modern Tragedies.

Church. In their Catches, their Glees, and their secular Canons, I leave them the free use of this complicated science; I only wish them to be more sparing of it when employed for the purposes of divine public worship.

Neither is my opinion a novel one: Dr. Tudway, a school-fellow of Purcel, Organist extraordinary to Queen Anne, and consequently a Composer by profession, had the boldness to declare, "that the practice of fuguing in "vocal music obscured the sense." Sir John Hawkins (from whom I take this and many more of my anecdotes) deems this "a singular opinion, because it is contradict-"ed (as I own it is) by the best Masters;" and adds, "this obscurity is either the case or not, as the point "is managed:"* But as this laborious Compiler has not taught us how to manage the point, I shall be apt to think Dr. Tudway in the right; and rather suppose that the mediocrity of genius, which Sir John imputes to him (I know not whether truly or falsely, being but little acquainted with his compositions) arose rather from some defect of original faculty than from this singularity of opinion.† But be this as it may, I have a much greater authority on my side than Dr. Tudway's, and this is no less than that of the celebrated Benedetto

* See his History of Music, vol. V. p. 92.

† Dr. Burney tells us that Tudway often composed in Fugue, but without excelling in it. If so, what has been quoted is his esoteric doctrine only: as a Doctor of Music he was necessitated to conform to popular practice.

Marcello, who, though in subserviency to custom, he has set some of his Psalms in a harmony of many parts; yet owns, "that this kind of composition, which is rather to "be called an ingenious kind of Counterpoint than any "other, is more likely to please the learned reader who "peruses it than the ordinary hearer, as well from the "perpetual conflict of Fugues and imitations, as from "the multiplicity of mixed consonances which accom-"pany them in order to complete and form the Chorus;* therefore, when the subject requires that the words and sentiments should be clearly and properly expressed, we find the music of this great master for the most part composed for no more than two voices; and when he wishes to be more peculiarly pathetic (as in his *Miserere*) for only one. On his authority, surely, I may safely rest the merits of the cause, and shall proceed to adduce a few more anecdotes taken from this writer's exhaustless store, to prove, that the earlier Masters had not the least idea of what we now call Vocal Expression; and that those who succeeded them were too much misled by the affectation of musical science duly to attend to it.

The first Anthem set to English words after the Reformation, I believe, was that of Dr. Tye, beginning *I will exalt thee*. This Composer was Musical Preceptor to Edward VI. who also, for his Pupil's use, set the first fourteen chapters of the Acts of the Apostles, having

* See Marcello's Preface, translated in Mr. Garth's English Edition of his Psalms.

first translated them into very conscientious Poesy; for he says of his work, in his dedication to his Royal Disciple,

Unto the text I do not ad,
Nor nothynge take awaye;
And though my style be gross and bad,
The truth perceyve you maye.

His moral motive for doing it is also delivered in a subsequent stanza:

That such good things your Grace may move,
Your lute, when ye assaye,
Instede of songs of wanton love,
These stories then to playe.

Yet, after all, his good sense may be called in question for thinking *historical narrative* a proper species either to be converted into literal verse, or set in regular Canon. He had, however, some authority to support him, for it seems the "boke of Kings," as well as the "boke of "Psalms," (as he tells us) had been already versified, if not set to music; and this the good Doctor, who saw no difference between the two, because they were both parts of Holy Scripture, thought sufficient.

But to do justice to the age in which so absurd an attempt was made, it does not appear that these musical Acts of the Apostles received either the royal or the

public sanction; and although the Music to the genealogy of Christ was received into the Liturgy by Queen Mary, yet it was probably old Popish Music revived, not new composed. In Elizabeth's reign no historic portions of the Scripture were thus treated; and, if we except the Creeds, no part of the Service was accompanied by Music, which was not either of the supplicatory or thanksgiving species.

I might here quit Dr. Tye, did not a curious story, which Sir John Hawkins has given us from Anthony à Wood, tempt me to transcribe it. "The Doctor, it "seems, was a peevish and humoursome man, especially "in his latter days; and sometimes playing on the Organ "in the Chapel of Queen Elizabeth, what contained "much music, but little delight to the ear, she would "send the Verger to tell him that he played out of tune, "whereupon he sent word that her Majesty's ears were "out of tune." In this story Anthony à Wood, without knowing it, and his Transcriber, without confessing it, has told us precisely what the merit and demerit of Dr. Tye's Music, and that of his contemporaries were; they had all the learning of their profession, without knowing or aiming to make it useful. The primary use of Music is to please the ear, and of vocal to convey the words it is joined to in a pleasing and intelligent strain; the secondary, yet much more essential use, is to convey sentiment, and to affect the passions.

But as the art of the old masters was deficient in both

these points, many men of learning, who were either actual reformers, or well-wishers to that cause, reprobated it. Amongst these the great Erasmus declares himself an enemy (not to Church Music in general, as Sir John Hawkins supposes him to be, but) to the Church Music then in use. The sentiments of so great a man, when they tend so much, as they do, to corroborate the leading principle which runs through this Essay, it will be prudent in me to quote at large. "Hujusmodi Musices "genus inductum est in cultum divinum, ut ne liceat "quidem ullam vocem liquidè percipere. Nec iis qui "canunt otium est attendendi quid canant: tantum vo- "cum tinnitus aures ferit, et mox peritura dilectatiuncula "mulcet.* Hæc adeo placent, ut Monachi nihil aliud "agant, præsertim apud Britannos."—Which passage I thus literally translate: "The kind of Music introduced "into Divine Worship is such that we are not able to "understand a single word distinctly, nor have those "who sing it leisure to attend to what they sing; the "tinkle of the words is all that strikes the ears, and "soothes them with a transient and slightly pleasurable "sensation.† With this they are so much delighted,

* Erasmi Annot. in XIV. Cap. 19. V. prim. Epist. ad Corinthios.

† So I translate "mox peritura dilectatiuncula mulcet." Sir John Hawkins renders it "an empty sound which glides delight- "fully into their ear." It seems fully to support the explanation which I lately gave of the terms *operosa* and *vibrata* in the censure of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

" that the Monks do nothing else, especially among the " Britons."

Tallis and Bird, though they were contemporary with Tye, survived him so long (particularly Bird) that they may be called his successors. In Mary's reign they were of the court religion, and composed their Church Music to Latin words, but in her successor's they were Protestants. Dr. Aldrich has adapted the music of two of their motets to English words; but when I say adapted, I mean only syllabically, which, with regard to such music, is a matter of much facility; yet the intelligent hearer will find cause to commend the ingenious Dean for his taste, in finding words more suited to the original strain than those to which they were set; that is, if he carefully peruses the words which he hears sung, otherwise I can tell him, from repeated experience, that he will find them almost utterly unintelligible :* Yet it must be confessed, that when the words are attended to by the eye, there is a plaintive cast in the strain which makes the well-known Anthem, *I call and cry*, somewhat affecting; I think, however, a modern Composer would judge ill if he chose to set the same words chorally.

The strain in question was set originally to an Eucharistical Hymn, the initial words of which were *O sacrum Convivium;* the other to a Hymn beginning *Civitas sancti tui*, and were originally so published by Tallis

* The same may be said of that celebrated piece of full harmony, *Non nobis Domine.*

and Bird, in their collection of Motets intituled *Cantiones Sacræ*. The first of these, it is clear from the sentiment which the words convey, ought to have been expressed by a movement of devout exultation and thanksgiving; and the latter, to which Dr. Aldrich has applied the words, "*O Lord, turn away thy wrath "from us,*" seems not necessarily to have required that of a supplicatory kind. But as it was recondite Harmony, not vocal Expression, which these old masters affected, it was easy, as I have said above, to take their Music from one set of words, and give them to another, either in the same or a different language. Dr. Aldrich, I imagine, found it a more difficult matter to adapt the Music of Palestrina, and still more of Carissimi, to English words, and yet this, we know, is an experiment which he tried, and in which also he succeeded. But it is still more singular, that of late years the very ingenious Mr. Garth, of Durham, should have been able to do the same thing with the Music of fifty Psalms in succession, which Benedetto Marcello originally composed to a fine poetical version in Italian, by Giustiniani, and transfer it to the words of our old prose translation. This indeed is a phenomenon not easy to be accounted for. We are able frequently to perceive, that these transmutations have been for the worse, which, exclusive of other reasons, the different degrees of softness in the two languages must necessarily occasion; but that it could ever be done at all is the wonder. We are able

also to perceive, that in the Choral parts the experiment has succeeded better than in the Solo Airs and Duets, and this, as might be expected, from Harmony taking more the lead in the former, than in the latter: for simple Melody appropriated to particular words, seems the more difficult to twist from its original accents, than syllables mingled together by a multifarous succession of harmonical sounds, are to a like variation.—However this be, it must be allowed, that all the attempts in this way have been attended with greater success than might in any reason have been expected; insomuch that we may venture to pronounce, that our English Cathedral Music has gained as much from this *naturalization*, as it may be called, of Italian Masters, as our English Oratorios have by Mr. Handel's adaptation of those Italian Opera Airs, which he composed in the vigour of his genius, to a species of English Music, which he introduced in its decline, merely to acquire (to the shame of the time in which he lived be it spoken) a competence to sustain the miseries concomitant on blindness and old age.

As therefore we have seen that Music of a much higher cast, than that of Tallis or Bird, permits itself to be, as it were, torn from either its prosaic or poetic trunk, and engrafted on a foreign stock of either species, we are not to wonder if this operation might easily be performed, when we learn that the art of expressing sentiment by musical terms was in an imperfect state,

even in Italy, long after the time of Tallis and Bird in England. Claudio Monteverde, who was, as it is generally thought, the first composer of the Musical Drama, called the Opera, published a set of Madrigals in the year 1638; in a preface to which he tells us, "that he "is the first who has attempted to express the livelier "passions;"* it is not, therefore, to be expected that a hundred years before his time our Church Music should have spirited movement enough in it to convey sentiments of gratitude and thanksgiving, though it might serve to accompany in slow and solemn tones the strains of penitence and supplication: and therefore Dr. Aldrich did judiciously in putting the music, which was originally set to a Eucharistical Hymn of Thanksgiving, to a penitential one, to which, it is evident, the supplicatory strain was much better adapted.

It is true, indeed, that in Dr. Aldrich's time, *i. e.* in the latter part of the 17th century, a great and original genius arose in this country, who, had he lived longer, or had the best parts of the compositions which he left behind him been made the object of future imitation, would have gone a great way towards advancing Vocal

* These Madrigals are preserved in the Library of York Minster: The words alluded to are, "Ne havendo in tutte le "compositioni de' passati compositori potuto ritrovare esempio "del *concitato genere* ma ben si del molle e temperato." The lovers of antient music would do well to consider of how very modern a date this first attempt to express the different passions appears to have been.

Music to its desired point of perfection. In proof of this, I need only refer to the Anthems of Purcel, which, in point of clear articulation and verbal expression, to which merit I am here chiefly adverting, are so much superior to all his predecessors, contemporaries, and even successors, that they seem to stand single in this respect; insomuch, that were they cleared of their scientific modulation, which they might be in many passages without prejudicing their general harmony, they would certainly be the best models of that style, which ought to prevail in Church Music.

Yet a studious mind seems in general to acquire, by applying itself to what is antient, so great a prejudice for it, that I do not wonder the late judicious Dr. Boyce, after having employed himself many years in giving a correct and elegant Score of the Services and Anthems of the older masters, came to a conclusion very different from this, and declared, in a preface to the last volume, "that the early writers *were not wanting in musical* "*expression*," though not so particularly marked; but "that their successors deviated from the gravity of their "predecessors, and in compliance with the gay taste of "Charles II. had adopted a lighter species of music: "however, they still preserved a solemnity and *learning* "in their compositions which have rendered them last "ing monuments of *ingenuity* and expression." Now it is this *learning and ingenuity* that I chiefly object to in them: solemnity and expression I am certain they

might have had without it, and the result would have been, that their compositions would have been more intelligible and pathetic. There seems, for instance, to be little learning or ingenuity in that very plain and simple harmony which Purcel has set to *Peace be within thy walls*, and to *O visit me with thy salvation*; yet the expression and pathos of these passages have a greater effect on even the learned ear, than any complicated contrivance in Fugue or imitation which that sublime genius ever produced. But the musical historian has gone farther,* and asserted, that Purcel himself followed the example of Humphreys, Wise, &c. who had introduced into their Church Compositions such dancing movements as the King had acquired a great fondness for in France. I own I am rather more inclined to give credit to what Purcel himself says in one of his prefaces, "that he has faithfully endeavoured at a just imitation "of the most famed Italian Masters, with a view to "bring the gravity and seriousness of that sort of Music "into vogue and reputation among our countrymen, "whose humour it is time now should begin to lose the "levity and balladry of our neighbours." It is true, that this Preface was written a year after the death of King Charles II. and prefixed to a set of Sonatas; but supposing he might have humoured the Monarch in his secular music, I cannot be persuaded that either he or the other great Masters ever admitted Coranto or Gavot

* Hawkins, p. 360 and p. 497, v. 4.

movements into their sacred Harmony; at least I have found no instances in them of such depravity of taste.

The only fault, therefore, that I would impute to Purcel, is what the mere Harmonist would deem his principal merit, that of pursuing the old Masters in sometimes too ostentatious a show of musical learning, by which, though he did not obliterate pathos and expression, he frequently rendered it less forcible and striking; and what is true of him, is still more true of all his predecessors and contemporaries in that æra.

Yet I am far from denying that his contemporaries had many of them great merit. They certainly carried the musical art much farther, with respect to conveying vocal sentiment, than the Composers of the century which preceded them; and this even in their fuller pieces. There are Anthems to be found amongst them, where every syllable has its just length; each part of a sentence its proper pause: where the words are not confused by perplexing alternations, or rendered tedious by unnecessary repetitions; but which proceed in one full, yet distinct, strain, harmonically, and at the same time, intelligibly.* Indeed it may be said, that the art, considered in the way I would be understood only to

* I might give an instance of this, were the Anthem sufficiently known, which was composed by Mr. Tucker, one of the Gentlemen of the Chapel to King Charles, and which begins *O give thanks unto the Lord.*

Psalm 105, v. 1, 2, 3, for four Voices.

consider it, as a vehicle for verbal sentimental expression, did hardly exist before their time. It was the pleasing Melodies of Wise, the pathetic Airs of Clarke, the majestic Movements of Blow, and the sublime Strains of Purcel, which at once proved the good sense, as well as genius, of these Masters; and at the same time the powers, which Vocal Music might have upon the mind, when so managed, that sound might be subservient, or rather assistant, to sense. Yet as this can never be the case, but when Melody, and consequently appropriated Air are principally attended to, it has led, as we have seen, Dr. Boyce and other professed Harmonists to think, that by the addition of too much Air, by which these Masters deprived Harmony of its absolute supremacy, they robbed Church Music of its ancient solemnity. The public ear, however, will, I believe, generally allow, that Music in their hands became more intelligible and expressive than it had been heretofore: a matter of all others the first to be attended to in compositions of this kind; and without which, the merit of Music, of this species, consists only in that of prolonging certain Notes to make the Music more solemn; a merit, which, though attributed by Dryden, as I observed in the former Essay, to his St. Cecilia, I imagine was given her by the Poet, rather to fill up his Stanza, than to impress any precise idea on the mind of his reader.

But, when I give this deserved applause to the contemporaries of Purcel, I cannot, as I have said, help

attributing to them the same defect which I have imputed to him, and that in a greater degree. Happy would it have been for the Vocal Art, if their successors had attempted to rectify this fault in their own compositions: but, instead of doing so, they superadded a new one, and this from a natural, and in some degree excusable, cause: for it is here to be observed, that it was not above a century ago, and when Purcel was in the meridian of his short life, that the powers and delicacies of the human voice began to be somewhat attended to. Before that period, to sing, as it is called, in tune and in time, seems to have been the only merit required from the performers; for the old Vocal Music being almost constantly choral, or moving in a succession of short intervals, it demanded only that every part should be equally audible; it required no flexibility of throat, or delicacy in the organs of sound; for when the performers had so complex a harmony, and so simple a melody to attend to, nothing except now and then holding out a note (the office rather of the lungs than of the throat) was necessary to produce all the execution required; but when Air and Melody became more prevalent, as they did at this time, the powers of the human voice were more studied and more cultivated: first, indeed, for the use of the Theatre, where the delicacies of a fine voice were more in their place; but they soon, as might be expected, were introduced into the Church. This revolution, as it may be called, in Vocal Music,

though attended with much additional pleasure to the hearer, induced also a new defect in point of simplicity, which, as the old one of complex harmony was not removed, prevented the art from attaining to what I call its perfection in the next century. The defect I mean is that of long and intricate divisions, unnecessary, if not improper, repetitions of parts of the Melody.

The first composer, who seems to have given much into this error, is Dr. Croft. In his time, it seems, there was a very fine Contra-Tenor in the Royal Chapel, called Elford, to whom, in the Preface to his Anthems, he gives great and I suppose deserved applause, and for whose voice he purposely set several Solos. Where a voice (considered as an instrument) is to be shewn, the frittering of one syllable into almost half a century of semiquavers, is perhaps the best and only expedient for shewing its executive powers; for, though it has other powers, and those of a kind which no other instrument can rival, yet the term execution is generally applied to that volubility of throat which expresses accurately such divisions; and the quicker the succession of notes in these divisions, the more perfect are deemed the performer's powers in this point. This being the case, the reader, I dare say, is ready with his assent to my assertion, that a too great indulgence, or indeed any at all, to the performer in these instrumental tricks, must not only greatly diminish the gravity and solemnity of Church Music,*

* The late Dr. Nares, whose memory both as a man and

but also render it, as a vehicle for words, much less intelligible; and when to this is added the same affectation of science which prevailed before in the Composer, it might reasonably be expected that the art would now be rendered totally unfit for the purpose, and that the Composer, in this latter period, sacrificing both to his own and the performer's reputation, had rendered his Music totally unintelligible.

This, however, is not the fact: for though almost all the Scholars of Croft gave, as much as their Master, into this fashionable folly, yet still, when we compare theirs with the works of their predecessors, we find them full as intelligible as those in Purcell's time, and much more so than in those of Tye, Tallis, and Bird. Nor is the phenomenon difficult to account for, if we consider the

Composer I greatly respect, in a short but judicious preface expresses the same sentiment concerning a collection of his own Anthems. "I have been very sparing (says he) of Divisions, "thinking them too airy for the Church, and have rather en- "deavoured to enforce the sentiment of the words, than to "display *the Art of Musical Composition*." It is certainly this fondness of Division, indulged for the purpose mentioned above, which Croft sometimes exhibited, and Green carried to much greater excess, that rendered many of their Anthems too light and theatrical; and as in several of their choral movements we find sentiment neglected, and the Art of Musical Composition solely attended to, it is not improbable, but the Author of the Preface had these two Composers principally in view; though he might with equal justice have included Dr. Boyce in his idea, as to the latter foible, and the great Handel himself both in the former and the latter.

nature of Air and Melody, which, when simple and unadulterated with foreign mixtures, never obscure verbal expression. But these Masters, at least in the outset of their strains, were careful to preserve Air; and as, for the sake of this, they admitted a variety of Melody to many repetitions of the same verbal passage, it is clear that these very repetitions, though blameable in one sense, as taking from solemnity, were yet useful in another, as affording different channels, through some one of which the words would certainly be conveyed to the hearer.

The foregoing remarks, though many of them refer solely to that part of our Cathedral Music, called the *Anthem*, will yet be found to apply even with greater force to those Hymns which Church Musicians call by the technical term of *Services*, by which they mean the *Te Deum*, *Magnificat*, &c. which the Rubric appoints to be sung after the first and second Lessons at Morning and Evening Prayer.*

The Music usually applied to these is so peculiar in itself, and differs so much from all other, that it may be called *sui generis*. The length of the majority of these Hymns will not admit them to be set in a continued

* I believe they include the *Nicene Creed* under the same title, for it has been usually set to the same kind of Music; but in my opinion any Music whatever is improper to accompany a solemn declaration of our Faith. It is certainly only in its place, when it tends to express the sentiments either of supplication, penitence, or thanksgiving. Creeds are and must be, of necessity, narrative.

strain of Melody, or with so many repetitions as find their place in Anthems; and being all composed after Bird's old model, they have consequently that defect in point of intelligibility, which has been shewn above to attend on that sort of Music. For though it must be owned that the more modern Masters have paid greater regard to syllabical accent and emphasis than their predecessors, yet whenever the Laws of Quantity happen to clash with the Laws of Counterpoint, they are ever ready to make the former subservient to the latter, as might be proved from a variety of examples. I have often thought that this defect was owing to the want of a preparatory exercise in the Composer, to which if he would submit before he began to arrange either his Melody or Harmony, he would find it of no little use: Having made an experiment myself of the kind, I will here venture to give a short account of it.

I engaged a young person perfectly well grounded in the rules of composition, and of promising abilities as a composer, to attend to me for some time while I repeatedly read one of the shortest of these Hymns with all the care and accuracy, with respect to accent and pause, that I was capable of; and, when he had got a complete sentence perfectly in his head, to write down on a single line, with the common musical characters, a variety of minims, crotchets, and quavers, equivalent to the times of my pronunciation, either in common or triple measure, as he found most convenient. The novelty of the attempt

was a little embarrassing at first, but it soon became sufficiently easy to him, and proceeding, sentence after sentence, he produced on paper, with much exactitude, the musical time in notes, rests, and bars, of the whole Hymn,* according to my recitation. The ground-plan (as I may call it) of the musical structure being thus adjusted, I told him this was the foundation on which he was to proceed in the composition of a new Service; that he was to observe all the dimensions precisely, and neither lengthen or shorten a single note, or vary a single rest in the whole of the Melody, and that his Harmony also must proceed under the same strict limitations. He thought, as might be expected, this law wonderously severe, and seeming not only to doubt the justice but sagacity of the lawgiver, pleaded strongly to be at least indulged in a few repetitions of the words in order to facilitate his Modulation; this was refused, yet still his youth and docility led him to undertake the task, till under all these restrictions he produced the *Nunc Dimittis* in four full parts, which answered my idea so perfectly, that I ventured to practise his abilities under the same limitations on the *Te Deum;* but in this,

* The Musical reader will recollect, that as the whole was written on a single line, all the notes were the same, marking only one sound of the Octave. Hence this scheme regulated only the duration and pauses, emphasis being put out of the question, because the duration of each syllable being ascertained, emphasis, if the Music was well performed, would result from it, so far as was necessary for the purpose.

before he sat down to compose, we regulated together what part of the words should be set chorally, and which in Trio, Duo, or Solo, and for what kind of voices. He was even more successful in this second attempt than in the former. His composition had an unaffected simplicity in the style, and agreeable variety in its modulation; and in point of articulation was so intelligible, that, without losing any thing of musical sweetness, it expressed every word almost as distinctly as solemn speaking: I say almost, because in such Music, to produce this perfectly, the Performers must also submit to a new regulation, and must occasionally be taught to trespass a little on the length of a musical bar, with the rests within it, so as to make it as much as possible accord with the true punctuation of the sentence.

The recommendation of this breach of Time, I know, will offend the Musical Reader at the first; but I would wish him to consider that the invention of Bars* in Music

* The Historian tells us, with his customary and commendable accuracy, that their "use is not to be traced higher than "1574, and it was not till some time after, that the use of them "became general. Barnard's Cathedral Music, printed in 1641, "is without Bars, but they are found throughout in the Ayres "and Dialogues of Henry Lawes, published in 1653. From "whence it may be conjectured, that we owe to Lawes this "improvement. *See Hawkins*, vol. iii. p. 518. This Henry Lawes was the friend of Milton, and set the songs in his Comus. He found, I imagine, the use of bars more necessary to mark the time of his Ayres, than to span the just accent and quantity of his words. By the well-known Sonnet, which this Poet addressed

is of no long standing, and their use not of equal importance in every species of Music. In continued Airs, and dancing measures, they are of essential service: but to the Music in question they appear to me by no means so necessary; for though I would not absolutely reject them, I would not suffer them to mark the time so precisely as to occasion any improper breaks in the continuation of a period: for this Music, though very different in itself from Recitative, ought in a great degree to be performed as that is, and might occasionally admit Recitative into it, if we had a real national one:* but whether I am right or wrong in this notion, (which I know is too

to him, we are to conclude, that he thought him the first English Composer, who attended to this point; for he there says that his

Tuneful and well-measured song
First taught our English Music how to span
Words with just Note and Accent, not to scan
With Midas' ears, committing short and long.

And if Milton, who was certainly a competent judge, is allowed to have spoken truth on this occasion, it is left with the lovers of very antient Music to set their own value on that of the 16th and part of the 17th Century.

* Had Purcell lived longer, it is probable this want would have been supplied. The model which Handel has given us, though as good as could possibly be expected from a foreigner, who had little knowledge of the genius and turn of our language, is not what a native like Purcell would have formed, or that which might, perhaps, yet be formed from the specimens he has left us, were they divested of those quavering divisions which he has set, probably to please his Scholars, and which (if in any) are in the French Taste.

Concerning the accompanied Chaunt used in the Psalter, I agree with Dr. Bayley,* that "some regard "ought to be had to the general subject of the Psalms for "the day, using plaintive chaunts with mournful Psalms, "and chearful with thanksgiving." But as the Psalms, in their present order, vary materially among themselves in this point, so that a penitential one is often immediately followed by another of a different cast, I would go farther, and wish that a Cathedral Psalter was composed by some judicious person, in which every Psalm should have a peculiar Chaunt affixed to it; and that these Chaunts, succeeding one another in the allotted portions of the Rubric for the day, should pass from major to minor keys, and *vice versa*, according to the established rules of Modulation. For this purpose no new Chaunts need be invented, but only a good selection made from the great variety now in use. The metrical Psalms, we know, have long had their peculiar Melodies, and I know no reason why those in prose have not as good a right to their peculiar Chaunts.

I shall now close this Essay; which, short and super-

* See Dr. Bayley's Preface to his Anthem Book for the Royal Chapel, p. xv. I remember, when I was a Scholar in St. John's College, Cambridge, it was the constant practice with the Organist, and I suppose a long established custom, after the 136th Psalm, *O give Thanks, &c.* had been chaunted in a major key, to change the chaunt into a plaintive one in a minor for the succeeding Psalm, *By the Waters of Babylon.* I know not whether this is still done, but I thought, at the time, it had a good effect.

ficial as it is, may yet go some way towards abating an ill-grounded deference to antiquity, merely because it is antiquity. I am conscious that had Dr. Burney's elaborate Work been published before the first edition of this went to the press, I should have made it somewhat more worthy of the public attention; considered merely, for what it was designed, an Historical Summary of the Progress of Cathedral Music in this country, with such critical reflections as might occur to me in an account of that progress.

The partiality however, which he has shewn to it, has induced me in this edition to revise it with more care, than otherwise I might have done; and, though I cannot withdraw the strictures I made on many of our Composers, in point of Vocal Intelligibility; I entirely submit to his superior judgment in every thing that respects scientific Harmony.

END OF THE SECOND ESSAY.

ESSAY THE THIRD,

ON

PAROCHIAL PSALMODY.

ESSAY THE THIRD.

THE authority of Erasmus was produced in the preceding Essay, and more might have been added, to shew that many of the most learned and judicious Persons, who flourished at the dawn of the Reformation, reprobated very strongly that complicated Harmony, which accompanied the Church Service. It was all indeed mere sing-song, or rather (if the expression be not too quaint) sing without song; for the term Song implies some certain degree of Melody and Air, of which that Music was utterly devoid; it therefore could only be called plain singing or chaunting, which, perhaps, is the best translation of the term *planus Cantus*.

But it was not on account of this deficiency, that our first Reformers disapproved of Popish Church Music; it was, because it rendered the words of the Liturgy indistinct and unintelligible. They would have been contented not to have received pleasure from it, had the Congregation received edification.

This not being the case, we have reason to think that, as Reformation proceeded, the two principal leaders of it, Luther and Calvin, resolved to make a considerable

change in its mode of performance. Calvin, who had certainly less Music in his soul than the other,* rejected both Vocal and Instrumental Harmony, and admitted only unisonous Psalmody. Conveniently for his purpose a part, at least, of a French translation of the Psalms had been very lately published, and had become popular in the Court where it had its origin; but this, as it seems, not because it was a version of Psalms, but a version in Rhyme, and what the taste of the time deemed good Poetry. They were not only sung, like Ballads, about the streets of Paris, but many of the Court Ladies adopted several of them, as their peculiar favourites, and honoured them with their own titles.† Devotion, it must be believed, had little to do in this matter. It was sufficient for the French, that the version was fashionable.

Calvin thought otherwise. He conceived, that it might be turned to a pious purpose. The verses were easy, and, like the generality of French verse, prosaic enough to be intelligible to the meanest capacity. The Melodies, to which they were set, rivalled the words in plainness and simplicity: they, who could read the one, would find little difficulty in learning to sing the other. As therefore it was the Protestant Father's primary aim

* Luther was an adept in the Science and a Composer also. See his Colloquia Mensalia, chap. lxviii. For specimens of his Compositions see *Dr. Burney's* History, vol. i. page 45, &c.

† This fantastic fact is circumstantially recorded by Mr. T. Warton, in his *History of Poetry*; see vol. iii. p. 163.—And also by Sir John Hawkins, in his *History of Music*.

to open the Scriptures entirely, which had been so long shut up in a dead language, nothing could come more opportunely to his aid than this Version of the Psalter, which, united with Prayer in the vernacular tongue, would enable his Congregation, not only to understand and join in the supplications of the one, but also become themselves Choristers of the other.

This is, I think, a more true as well as a more candid, account of the Reformer's proceeding, than that given by our ingenious Poetical Historian, who resolves Calvin's conduct in this matter entirely to prejudice. But without disputing the point, I need only say, that as the Church of England has ordained in her Cathedrals one species of Music to be used, and in her Parish Churches allowed another, I should leave my general subject imperfect, if I did not allot the present Essay to Psalmody.

About the same time that Marot published his Version in France, T. Sternhold versified fifty of the Psalms in England, in the completion of which work he had several coadjutors.* The whole did not appear in print till 1562, and were then attached to the book of Common Prayer, as allowed to be sung in Churches. Hence Mr. Warton infers that they never received the Royal approbation, or obtained Parliamentary sanction. Yet, it is

* The names of all these, if it be worth while to know them, are enumerated by that indefatigable searcher into momentous parts of antiquity, Sir John Hawkins.

clear, that Metrical Psalmody had been adopted in England full ten years before Sternhold's Version was published; for "on March 15, 1550, Mr. Veron, a "Frenchman by birth, but a learned Protestant, and "Parson of St. Martin's Ludgate, preached at St. Paul's "Cross before the Mayor and Aldermen, and, after "Sermon done, they all sung in common a Psalm in "Metre, as it seems now was frequently done, the Custom "being brought to us from abroad by the Exiles."* Hence we may infer, that if Queen Elizabeth patronized Cathedral Music exclusively, she did not interdict Psalmodical; and therefore, three years after so public an exercise of it, Sternhold, or his Printer, might fairly enough assert, that his Version was allowed to be sung in Churches.

Nothing more need be said historically on the subject, except that the tunes, or, as they are commonly called, Melodies, were borrowed by Sternhold from the old German and French Masters, particularly Goudimel and Le Jeune, who had composed them originally for Marot: for specimens of these I refer my Readers to the two English Musical Historians, especially the latter.† I also beg their patience if, before I enter into any further disquisition of the musical part of Psalmody, I make some remarks on the Metrical; and I am induced to

* See Nichols's *Progress of Queen Elizabeth*, Vol. I. p. 54, in a kind of Diary taken from Strype.

† See Hawkins, Vol. III. p. 518,—Burney, Vol. III. P. 45.

this more particularly, because the late professor of Poetry has in his History declared, " that he reprobates " any Version at all of the Psalms, especially if intend- " ed for the use of the Church.* A writer too of a much inferior poetical taste, in my opinion, though of a more dictatorial spirit, has condemned all devotional Poetry whatever.† Let his Paradoxical Dogmas have what weight his admirers please to give them, I chuse only to attend to the strictures of Mr. T. Warton, who had never confined his Poetical Powers within the narrow compass of the Couplet, but had initiated himself early into all the various provinces of Versification; had taken a number of the best models for his imitation, and in each had eminently succeeded. It is however to be lamented that a premature inclination for Antiquarian researches led him aside from the original bent of his Genius, else there is no doubt but he would have produced in every species of Poetry, what he did in several, proofs of as true a Poetic Spirit, as in his Comments on preceding Poets he has shewn a truly critical judgment. It must be owned, however, that on this subject he had his Prejudices; not indeed so violent and unreasonable as the Biographical Critic, but which seem to have originated from the same cause, an outrageous zeal against every thing that he deemed Puritanical: and as Metrical

* Warton's *Hist. of Poetry*, Vol. III. p. 179.

† Dr. Johnson's *Lives of the Poets*, at the end of the Life of Waller.

Psalmody was certainly much used in Conventicles, before it was practised in our Established Church, it is no wonder, that he was disinclined to allow it a place, in which he thought nothing but *the pealing Organ* should accompany *a full voiced Choir*. I take these phrases from a passage which I have before quoted from Milton, because he was a Puritan Poet, though perhaps not deeply tinged with the prejudices of the Sect, when he wrote those verses; and I venture to call Mr. Warton's prejudices also, though of a contrary kind, because in this instance he has not produced any sufficient reason in support of them. For was Psalmody, let me ask, not to be introduced into offices of Devotion, merely because it was Metrical? Surely not; for Metre had long prevailed in the Church previous to the Reformation; witness the Stabat Mater, and almost all the Hymns to the Virgin: witness Henry the Eighth's English Anthem quoted in the preceding Essay, and performed most probably after the Church had become Protestant, and when Henry had quarrelled with the See of Rome. Or was it not to be used, because it was Psalmody? The same reason would weigh against the antient Rituals, for select Psalms, though not the whole Psalter, had been used at Matins, Vespers, &c. in the Church from a very remote antiquity.—His reason then can only be, that a Version of the Psalms in Metre must of necessity be bad Poetry.

That few, if any, of the versions of the book of Psalms, can deserve the name of good Poetry throughout, I am

ready to allow him; but this I cannot think arises so much from the impossibility of the thing, as from the false idea which has prevailed, concerning the best mode of rendering Hebrew Poetry into English Verse. A literal Version may boldly be asserted impracticable; for if it were not, a Poet so great as Milton would not, even in his earliest youth, have proved himself so very little of a formidable rival, as he has done, to Thomas Sternhold. That to proceed in the way of Paraphrase is also as unlikely to obtain its end seems to me to be equally evident, because it is the genius, nay, the very essence of Oriental Poetry to be so very paraphrastical in itself, as not to admit of further dilatation in any modern Version. Voltaire, though he says it with a French philosophical sneer, "Les répétitions et le désordre qui étaient peut-être "un mérite dans le style oriental, n'en sont point dans "le nôtre," cannot in this point be confuted; and the great Corneille also mentions its innumerable *redites* as a supreme difficulty.

Mr. Merrick, the last English Versifier of them, and most indubitably the best, hopes in his preface, "that the "judicious reader will not be offended, if he finds the "same Phrases, and even the same lines occur in differ-"ent Psalms, when he considers what liberty of Repeti-"tions the Hebrew Poetry admits in one and the same "Psalm;" which liberty Dr. Lowth, in his preface to his celebrated translation of Isaiah, shews was so far from being Poetical Licence, that it was its constituent

principle:* for according to him "parallel lines, synonymous in Sense, are in it equivalent to metrical "couplets, or measures in modern Languages." Parallel antithetical Expressions are, in like manner, substituted for Rhythm and Cadence. Sentences of a similar grammatical construction, which he calls synthetic parallels, are another of its constituents; from all which arises a Rhythmus of propositions, and a Harmony (not of sound but) of Sentences. I put the learned Bishop's prosodical System thus in short, to draw from it this short conclusion, that such Poetry must abound so much in Pleonasms and Repetitions, that it is impossible to make them appear either forcibly or gracefully in English verse, particularly in Rhyme; for if Rhyme does not condense the sense, which passes through its vehicle, it ceases to be good, either as Verse or Rhyme: it is of the kind, which a Lord or a Lady Fanny spins a thousand lines in a day, a loose flimsy kind of smooth verbiage, which ought never to come into the world, without being first hot-pressed and on wove paper.

But to proceed with my subject. As, on account of the diffused sense in the original, even an exact copy would appear diffuse also in a literal version, paraphrase

* I know not whether the learned Bishop was the original discoverer of this principle, which certainly annihilates every idea of Metre, a thing essential to verse in every other language. His Hypothesis has however been adopted by all later translators of the Poetical part of the Hebrew Text, and for myself I am too ignorant and, I hope, too modest to gainsay it.

here, of all things, seems the worst method to be adopted. If then I am asked, what seems to be the best? I answer, it is by proceeding in the way of a judicious selection of the meaning, metaphors, &c. of the original. By this all the principal, and frequently sublime images in it might be transfused, and those parallelisms, which contain an identity of sentiment only omitted. By such a selection, therefore, which I will venture to call poetical compression, however difficult it might prove to the Author, would secure his Version, if competently executed, an adequate approbation from the Reader; because he certainly would be far from finding it prolix, feeble, or tedious: and though it failed to give him the same sublime simplicity, which is often so very striking in our Prose translation of the Poetical parts of the Old Testament, it would have all the merit that can justly be claimed by any English metrical translation. There exists in our Bible version a certain dignified prose Rhythm, which accords wonderfully with the sentiments it conveys, and which it would have been well if even Dr. Lowth, and the more modern translators from the Hebrew Original had *tuned* their ears by, and this I think they might often have done without impairing the fidelity of their emendatory process, though it would have hurt the linear poetical semblance of their pages. But be this as it may, my affair is with Metrical, not Prose, Versions. I shall, therefore, by way of explaining my meaning, produce an instance taken from the first

four lines of the twenty-first Psalm, as Dr. Lowth has translated, arranged, and given for his primary specimen of those parallel Synonymes.

PARALLEL 1.

O Jehovah! in thy strength the King shall rejoice!

PARALLEL 2.

And in thy salvation shall he greatly exult.

Now if in this verse we omit all the synonymous terms, and retain only the general sentiment, it might in prose be expressed shortly, but fully, thus:

How greatly, O Jehovah! shall the King rejoice in thy salvation!

The passage thus abridged might also be completely expressed in a single couplet. But if all the terms are to be introduced, perhaps, it might require two couplets, or a stanza of four lines. So, with his usual awkwardness, Sternhold

O Lord, how joyful is the King
In thy strength and thy power!
How vehemently does he rejoice
In thee, his Sa-vi-our.

Tate and Brady have turned it somewhat better, yet with their usual tameness.

The King, O Lord, with songs of praise
Shall in thy strength rejoice;
With thy salvation crown'd shall raise
To thee his cheerful voice.

Superior as Mr. Merrick's version is, it is necessarily too much dilated, and by no means faultless.

By thy unwearied strength upheld,
To thee the King his thanks shall yield,
And, taught by blest experience, know
What joys from thy salvation flow.

Here the address to the Deity, which ought to have appeared in the first or second line, is wanting, or not found till five lines after the epithet "unwearied," which is in itself an unnecessary adjunct, as is also the phrase "taught by blest experience."

But let us proceed to the next two Parallels.

PARALLEL 1.

The desire of his heart thou hast granted him;

PARALLEL 2.

And the request of his lips thou hast not denied him.

The selected sense, as before, might be expressed briefly thus:

Thou hast granted him the desire of his heart, and the request of his lips.

Omitting to insert the passage as it is versified in the old and new version, I shall here only produce Mr. Merrick's, which, though more poetical, is not less prolix:

> Thy cares his heart's desire complete;
> His prayer from thy eternal seat,
> As low to thee his knee he bends,
> In full acceptance back descends.

I need not observe on the laxity of this version. I will only attempt to show, that, what all the three metrical translators have employed eight lines to express, might without difficulty, and, perhaps, with more energy, be compressed into four.

> Great God! by thy salvation blest,
> What rapture glows * in David's breast!

* I am well aware that a profest Hebraist will say, that in this version I have taken an unwarrantable liberty with the original text, by using the present for the future tense, by saying What raptures *glow* in David's breast; whereas it ought to be, What raptures shall glow. Thus our Liturgical version translates rightly, The King *shall* rejoice; and Merrick also rightly, To thee the King his thanks *shall* yield. Tate also rightly; and poor Sternhold and myself only falsely: for he dares to say, that David actually *does* rejoice. We have, however, Buchanan to support us, who renders the passage thus:

> Quod Hoste victo Rex triumphat gaudio
> Curis solutus anxiis,
> Tibi id *fatetur* Rex beate cœlitum
> Debere.

I trouble the reader with this grammatical point merely to

To Heav'n and Thee he lifts his prayer,
That finds its full acceptance there.

Here the terms *full acceptance*, which I have adopted from Mr. Merrick, and which are not only concise but lyrical, say in two words, "thou hast granted him," and "hast not denied him:" for the rest, I hope, the Reader will be candid enough to think, that what I have produced instead, was not meant as a trial of my Poetical Skill, but merely as an illustration of my Critical Meaning.

I hope also it will not be imagined, that I would wish thus to compress every thing, which in the Hebrew text is arranged by Dr. Lowth, as Parallelisms. I know that there is a figure in Rhetoric called Amplification, which is often to be found in the higher kinds of Poetry applied with the greatest success; of this sort instances innumerable might be produced. I shall only refer myself

observe upon it, that if an English versifier, or even a prose translator, of the Psalms is to be tied down strictly to the original tenses, or even persons, no translation devoid of anomalies will ever appear. My opinion is, that as the Hebrew verb has fewer tenses than that of any other language, some liberty may be taken with it, when a variation of the tense clearly improves the sense; and always suspect when I see, which I frequently do, that such variations, if admitted, would make the text and context much more consistent in our prose versions, that these translations are in themselves faulty. Whether there be less impiety in this suspicion, than in imputing inconsistency to the inspired Original, let all but professed Hebraists determine.

to the line of Virgil, quoted in my first Essay,* which, we are told, that great Poet hit off extempore in recitation to fill up a hemistich. All I mean is, that a versifier would do well to compress those parallelisms only, which, whatever effect they may have in the Original, would appear mere repetitions in English; but always to admit those, which tended to give additional force and energy to the sentiment.

Neither would I have it taken for my opinion, that such a Version could in any degree convey that peculiar idea of dignity, which is in a manner annexed to our biblical Prose Version, and which from our very infancy we have imbibed. On this account I have often thought, that the Translator or Fabricator of the Works of Ossian (call him which you please, for the authenticity of them is of no consequence in my present argument) did wisely when he imitated that style. For had he given them to us either in Blank Verse or Rhyme; had he imitated either Milton and Thomson, or Dryden and Pope instead of his Bible, those *Numeri soluti*, which give such an air of majestic simplicity to the Erse Poems, would have been lost. As it is, the judiciously adopted style serves to veil that identity of imagery and sameness of metaphor, which would, by any other kind of poetical cookery, have palled the appetite of the Reader.

* See page 296. See also a fine Criticism upon it in Dryden's Parallel between Poetry and Painting, affixed to his version of M. Du Fresnoy.

Yet still a Metrical Version, happily executed on the model I have proposed, might have merit intrinsically of its own. It might be good and even nervous Verse; it might have strong devotional Pathos; it might express a fervency of gratitude to the Deity, a heart-felt sensation of benevolence to our Fellow-Creatures, and answer every laudable purpose, which is wished to be obtained by Parochial Psalmody.

And this it might do, so far as the Public Service of our Church is concerned, without being a translation of the whole Psalter. Nobody, I hope, will think I have a tendency to Popery, when I give it as my opinion that the Church of Rome did well when she inserted only a small portion of the Psalms in her Liturgical Offices. Yet the Church of England, which opens the whole Psalter to the People, who, with the Priest, are appointed alternately to repeat it, cannot be accused of shutting up any page of it, if in the Psalmodical part it makes use only of a judicious selection; a selection of those (and there are many in that sacred miscellany) which refer neither to Jewish ceremonials, nor abound with Jewish imprecations.

But to Christianize them, as Dr. Watts has done, would, I presume, deviate too far from the present practice of our establishment. Instead of this, therefore, I would arrange a certain number under the following heads: 1st, Psalms of Instruction; 2d, Psalms of Penitence and Supplication; 3d, Psalms of Praise and

Thanksgiving. From the Prophetical Psalms also might be selected such as might occasionally be sung on the greater Festivals. Where complete Psalms can be found of sufficient brevity, these, I think, should have the preference, because they form a Lyrical whole, and also because they could not be frittered into portions by an ignorant Parish Clerk; and I would wish them to be adapted, if not originally written, to one particular Melody or Tune, suited either to the plaintive or joyful nature of the words, and never applied to any other.

The use of this, in practice, is greater than at first may be apparent; yet it certainly tends to combine the Poetry and the Music together in the minds of the Congregation, and will lead them the better to understand the one, and more accurately to perform the other.

It may be, and, I believe, is the wish of some persons to make Psalmody more popular, by making it more pleasing, that is, by introducing a variety of new Tunes of a more refined and modern cast. But, as my subject is only general Congregational Psalmody, it is not my intention either to approve or condemn the attempt, my purpose being merely to shew that the melodies, whether old or new, ought to be executed in a less monotonous, and consequently more intelligible, manner.

And here I should quit the Metrical and Poetical part of my Subject, and proceed to what was originally my only intention, the Musical, did I not find it necessary first to remove some objections, which have been urged

against Psalmodical Music in general by an Author, from whose opinion on such topics I am always sorry to dissent.

"Why," says Dr. Burney, "is all the congregation "to sing, any more than to preach or to read Prayers?"* I answer by asking, why do the congregation in Cathedrals chant, and in Parish Churches read the verses in the Psalms alternately, either with the Choir or the Minister? In our Liturgy there is no part, in which the congregation is not only permitted, but appointed to have a share, except in the Exhortations and the Lessons. Is not then the joining with the Clerk in a metrical Psalm analogous to the rest of the Service? But the Doctor proceeds, "It is well known to all, who read "the Scriptures, that both singing Men and singing "Women were appointed to perform distinct parts of "religious rites among the antient Hebrews as well as "the Christians." That this is true, with respect to the Hebrews, will be allowed, but persons conversant both with the New Testament and Ecclesiastical History will hesitate, before they give their assent to the latter part of his assertion. They will recollect, that the Founder of their holy religion sung a Hymn jointly with his Disciples immediately after he had eaten the Passover, and instituted the solemn Rite, which was to supersede it: they will recollect that St. James exhorted the primitive Christians so to sing, and that St. Paul

* History of Music, vol. III. p. 64.

regulated the Practice. They will perhaps quote from a heathen writer, Pliny the Younger, a passage too well known to be here cited, which proves that this made a part of their earliest ritual. But if by the Scriptures he only means the Old Testament, they will readily allow, "that it does not appear there, or by any thing "that the most antient and learned commentators have "urged concerning the performance of the Psalms, or "by Rabinical traditions, that they were originally in- "tended to be sung by the multitude or whole congre- "gation indiscriminately." Yet they will be apt to tell him, that the Jewish ritual is abolished, and that the single instance of our Saviour's singing a Hymn with his Disciples, with them outweighs a thousand Rabinical traditions.

But I find myself here drawn into a defence of a part at least of Church Music, contrary to my original intention, which was, that these slight Essays should be purely Historical and Critical; yet I have no occasion to deviate further from my plan, because the rest of my Friend's objections are entirely of the Musical kind, and therefore may with more propriety be critically examined. "Singing," says he, "not only implies a tuneable Voice, "but skill in Music, for Music either is, or is not an "Art, or something which nature and instinct does not "supply. If it be allowed that title, Study, Practice, "and Experience may at least be a necessary to its "attainment, as that of a mechanical trade or calling.

" Every Member of a Conventicle, however it may " abound with cordwainers and tailors, would not pre- " tend to make a shoe or a suit of clothes without serv- " ing their several apprenticeships, and yet in our Church " *all* are to sing. Such singing, as is customary in " our parochial Service, gives neither Ornament nor " Dignity to the Psalms or Portions of Scripture, which " are drawled out and bawled with that unmusical " and unmeaning vehemence, which the Satirist has " described,

" ——— So swells each windpipe—
" Such as from lab'ring lungs th' Enthusiast blows,
" High sound attemper'd to the vocal nose."

POPE'S DUNCIAD.

This argument, we see, proceeds, as Logicians term it, *ab Abusu*, and is rendered more poignant by the entertaining zest of Ridicule, with which it is mingled; but it surely applies rather to the superior Provinces of Music, than to humble Psalmody. To sing an Air, either in an Opera or Oratorio, however simple, requires a good ear, a voluble voice, and perhaps some skill in Music: Yet a Psalm tune, containing much more modulation than our old ones do, may be sung by a person endued with a natural musical ear, and without the least skill in the art itself. Many popular and pleasing Ballads, replete both with air and melody (for these are qualities which tend rather to aid than impede the singer

who has Nature only for an assistant) we hear frequently in the streets; and if the voice be a good one, executed in no unpleasing manner, even when, as a Poet of much original humour says,

Dolly, in her master's shop,
Encores them as she twirls her mop.*

In fact, Music, though in one sense an Art, yet is in another a natural faculty, like many other distributed in an unequal proportion among the Human Species. Some say, that they are utterly devoid of it, which with me is a matter very problematical; yet, admitting that they are, some too are born blind, or deaf, or dumb, which does not destroy the position that seeing, hearing, and speaking, are natural faculties.—It is from not making the trial that many persons are led to believe, they cannot succeed in Arts, of which practice and perseverance would make them at least tolerable proficients; and that the generality of ears and of voices might by these means be, and in fact are, often improved so far, as to execute very simple Music, is, I think, not to be disputed.†

* See Whitehead's Apology for Laureats.—Poems, vol. III. p. 98.

† Those who are acquainted with the Opera stage, I believe, would assent to me, had I instead of simple, said florid Music. I was told some years ago that Signior Lovatini, than whom a finer Comic Singer never appeared in England, was extremely deficient in Music as a Science, and, to use a Green-Room phrase, was in his best Airs *pervetted* by the Composer. Whether this be

Our first Reformers were, however, clearly of this opinion; and thinking with St. Paul, that a Christian congregation should sing with the spirit and with the understanding also, they rejected, as I have shewn, those complicated harmonies, which were so great an impediment to both, and which had made so principal a part in the ritual of that Church, against whose doctrines and discipline they had so strongly protested. They founded their new institution on primitive practice. They had learned that singing Men, much less singing Women, as a separate Choir, made no part in the few simple orders, which St. Peter and St. Paul had regulated and appointed. They referred themselves also to the sublime Apocalyptic visions of St. John, and thence concluded, that as in Heaven the whole company of Saints and Martyrs, and of just men made perfect joined in one immense Chorus before the Throne and the Lamb, the Church, then militant and visible upon Earth, might, in the humblest yet devout imitation, attempt a similar act of Praise and Thanksgiving.

These reasons, and others of the same kind, were undoubtedly what gave the first rise to metrical Psalmody. Simple Metre was chosen, because it facilitated the

a fact, I pretend not to say. Yet I dare venture to assert, that many of their second, and some even principal singers have been less skilled in the Art of Solmization, than many of our Lancashire and Yorkshire cordwainers.

general memory; simple Melody, because it was the easiest to be performed by the general voice.

Yet when a natural faculty is subjected to rules and advanced into an Art, as was then the case with Music, and that a very intricate one, its Artisans are ever ready to apply their exertions to it. Hence, what old Calvin meant to be sung in unison, they chose should be performed in Counterpoint, or in four parts. Now Counterpoint is certainly so much an Art, that to be, what they call, a learned Contrapuntist, is with Harmonists a title of no small excellence. Accordingly we read in the first complete edition of Sternhold and Hopkins's Psalms, printed by T. Est in 1594, that "the tunes were com-"posed by nine sondry Authors, and so labored in this "worke, that the unskilful by small practice maie attaine "to sing that part, which is fittest for his voice." But how little a way such practice will go, even at present, towards producing real Harmony, almost every village Church in the kingdom will give us a grating specimen, unless the voices are regulated by an Organ, or at least a well-tuned, and accurately stopped Violoncello.

It will be, perhaps, supposed from what I have said, that I wish the Psalms were always sung in unison. I own that I think the part, in which the Melody lies, be it either treble or tenor, accompanied by a Bass Voice, would sufficiently answer every Psalmodical purpose. For although the same Notes in the different Octaves are

in reality unisonous, yet there is a variety of Tones in Treble, Contratenor, Tenor, and Bass voices, which, when combined in a numerous Chorus, produces an effect of a noble, if not a sublime kind, that must be felt rather than described.

And here let me fly again to Authority for refuge. Let me take it from a great and professed Harmonist, the late Mr. Charles Avison, with whom I was happy long ago to be acquainted. He writes thus on the subject, " however trifling it may appear to consider this " species of Music," viz. Psalmody, (he is here speaking as a Harmonist to Harmonists) " I cannot but own, that " I have been uncommonly affected with hearing thou- " sands of Voices hymning the Deity in a style of Har- " mony adapted to that awful occasion."* We see here, that he ventures to call this species of Musical performance Harmony, though certainly far from being performed accurately in four parts. Yet Harmony it would certainly be, when accompained by himself on the full Organ, for by his own judicious performance, he would add instrumentally all the intermediate parts, which might give it a legitimate claim to the title.† For here

* See Avison on Musical Expression, p. 92, 2d Edit.

† This excellent Composer (though of Instrumental Music chiefly) was Organist, during life, of St. Nicholas's Church in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, containing one of the most numerous Congregations in the kingdom; consisting greatly of seamen, who, if ever they learned to sing in parts, could probably only learn it in Dutchland.

he might be considered as the CHORAGUS, and that he so thought, and justly, of himself appears from the remainder of the paragraph, which contains a proper stricture on the general practice of Organists, when performing this part of their duty. "But sorry I am to say, "that the chief Performer in this kind of noble Chorus "is too often so fond of his own conceits, that with his "absurd graces, and tedious and ill-connected interludes "he misleads or confounds his congregation, instead of "being the rational Guide and Director of the whole." This false taste, perhaps, might be prevented by a Rector or a Vicar, who had authority enough to confine the Organist to a slightly ornamented Refraine, or Ritornello at the end of each Stave or Stanza; and I have heard this done in some of the Chapels at the west end of London in what I thought a decent manner.

Yet Stanzas, though the most proper method of versifying the Psalms for a musical purpose, have something in their very institution, like all other Lyrical Poems, which prevents them from being uniformly in accord with any given Melody; and this because, as I observed on another similar occasion,* no Strain, Air, or Melody can unite itself so well with the succeeding Stanzas, as it did with the first; for as the Accent or Rhythm of the verse varies, so also should the Rhythm and Accent of the

* See Preface to H. Lawes's Psalm Tunes, published by Mr. M. Camidge of York, who composed the two Services mentioned in the former Essay.

Music. But it is not to be expected, that a Poet of any Rhythmical ear, even though a mere versifier of the Psalms, could bear the monotony which would result in recitation from arranging his lines to a perfectly similar flow and cadence, in order to adapt them to those of the first four or six lines, to which the Music perfectly suits; yet these anomalies (if they may be so called) in which the respective accents of Metre and Music do not precisely agree, are in common Psalmody little observed, except where a poetical and musical ear unite in one critical hearer; nor indeed by him, in the present state of it, when the Accent and Rhythm both of the Verse and the Melody are equally and compleatly absorbed by the equal prolongation of each Musical Note. This tedium occurred to the truly pious Dr. Watts, who, in the preface to his Psalms, observed "that if the method of "singing were but reformed *to a greater speed of pro-* "*nunciation*, we might often enjoy the pleasure of a "longer Psalm with less expence of time and *breath*, "and our Psalmody would be more agreeable to that of "the antient Churches, more intelligible to others, and "more delightful to ourselves." He also ventures to condemn a practice, which in our established Church has been long laid aside, of reading each line first, and then singing it, which, however absurd, I am told still prevails in the Kirk of Scotland.

From all these real or alledged defects, which have now been fully noticed, Psalmody is become not only

despicable to persons of a refined Musical taste, but is now hardly tolerable to our Village Practitioners, if they either can, or, what does as well, fancy they can sing at sight. For these, since the rage of Oratorios has spread from the Capital to every Market Town in the Kingdom, can by no means be satisfied unless they introduce Chaunts, Services, and Anthems, into their Parish Churches, and accompany them with, what an old Author calls, *scolding Fiddles*,* squalling Hautboys, false-stopped Violoncellos, buzzing Bassoons; all ill-tuned and worse played upon, in place of an Organ, which, if they had one, they would probably wish to improve by such instrumental assistance. The tintamarre which this kind of squeaking and scraping and grumbling produces, I will not pain my Reader by bringing stronger to his recollection, but shall now in conclusion only answer this simple quere; "Is the "Musical part of metrical Psalmody so incapable of "being meliorated, that it is vain to attempt it?" and I give it, as may be expected, in the negative; for I should hardly have taken the trouble of pointing out, what improvement might be made in the Poetical part, if I had not thought that it might also be improved in the Musical. To do this, I would first remove that capital defect,

* See Mace's Music's Monument, or some curious quotations from it in Dr. Burney, vol. iii. p. 62. Dryden, in his Ode on St. Cæcilia's day, calls them *sharp* Violins, and, I doubt not, with propriety; for in his time they could not have arrived at that delicacy of tone, even in the hands of the best Masters, which they now have in those of an inferior kind.

which results from its being totally divested of Accent and Rhythm by the prolongation of each note to almost an equal, and always a tedious length; by which the words become as unintelligible, as if they were united to Airs of the most modern cast, frittered into divisions, or even loaded with parts as much in sequence as in a Catch or a Glee. Music thus performed is as liable to obscure the sense of the words by its simplicity, as a more refined mode is by its complexity; for, as in the intonation of any given word, the vowels overpower the consonants in proportion as that intonation is prolonged, and, as the meaning of every word is distinguished more by different consonants than vowels, so, when the former are inaudible, little more than the unmeaning sounds of the more open vowels remain. Let a person attend to a Psalm, sung in the usual way by a full congregation, and, I think, he will acknowledge this to be nearly the fact. The remedy, I am now to point out, which I think both natural and easy, is this: Let the Psalm tune be divested of all its bars, as it was at the first formation of that kind of Music, retaining only a single bar at the end of every line of the verses, and a double one at the conclusion of the Stanza. The ear, in reading rhymed verse, always dictates a pause to the voice at the end of each line, and a longer at the conclusion of the sense; and these two bars are admitted for the same purpose. In the next place, as every verse, in the various metres employed in our common version, is usually of the Iambic species,

that is, the first syllable, whether long or short in actual quantity, is always pronounced short, and the next syllable long, and so alternately to the end of every line: Therefore the accompanying notes of the Melody should be regulated by the same law. For this purpose there would be no occasion to change the Notes already in use, but only to give them different durations, always singing the first as short again as the second; the third as the fourth, and so to the end of each line, prolonging the time of the whole strain to about twice that of solemn recitation. This, while it added to intelligibility, would take from Psalmody its tedious drawl, and certainly leave it sufficient gravity.*

But what we term gravity or solemnity in Music is not governed by such precise laws, as Melody and Harmony. It varies as the caprice of individuals, and the fashion of ages varies.† What was deemed grave and solemn three

* Notes of different duration occur constantly in the old Melodies as Semibreves, Minims, and sometimes Crotchets, but not with any regard to syllabic quantity; nor is their respective value attended to in the performance. Hence Rousseau observes, "That the Music of the Psalms in the Protestant Con-"gregations is even more imperfect, than the plain Chaunt of "the Catholics; because they never distinguish in their mode "of singing the Longs and the Breves, the Semibreves and "Crotchets, though they have retained their characters." *Dict. de Musique*—Art. Notes.

† An ingenious medical Philosopher has lately gone far beyond me on this point; for he says that "Our Music, like our Archi-"tecture, seems to have no foundation in nature, they are both "arts purely of human creation, as they imitate nothing. And

or four centuries ago may now appear tedious and dull; and this very alteration, which I propose in Psalmody, though it would certainly have been thought profanely light by Pope Gregory, may, perhaps, be esteemed sufficiently grave for a devotional purpose by our Protestant Bishops. Nothing but the duration of syllabical sounds, considered in the relation they bear to one another, can now be accurately ascertained, and this not in florid Music, but only when joined with those simple Melodies, which usually accompany the metrical versions of our Psalms.

For this purpose, (though I know that the declaration will not escape ridicule) I own, I should prefer the mechanical assistance of the Cylindrical or Barrel Organ to

" the Professors of them have only classed those circumstances, " that are most agreeable to the accidental taste of their age, or " country; and have called it proportion. But this proportion " must always fluctuate, as it rests on the caprices, that are in- " troduced into our minds by our various modes of education. " And these fluctuations of taste must become more frequent " in the present age, where mankind have enfranchised them- " selves from the blind obedience to the rules of antiquity in " perhaps every Science, but that of Architecture." *Zoonomia*, p. 157.

Those who are acquainted with the modern Adamitical Taste, as it has been called, to distinguish it from the Vitruvian, will perhaps wonder at the exception. For myself, I only wonder, that the whole Science of Harmonics founded, as has been thought, on Mathematical Principles, can be thus subject to fluctuation. But we seem to live in an age, when demonstrative, as well as

—— " Moral evidence shall quite decay."

Dunciad, B. iv. L. 462.

the Finger of the best parochial Organist. My reason for this is, what every person acquainted with its ingenious construction will agree to, that the duration of every Note is capable of being adjusted by exact and visible mensuration, so that the eye and rule of the artisan may strictly determine, what the ear and hand of the former could seldom perhaps so accurately execute; and this, because the strain would not move according to Musical, but Metrical laws. It is well known also that the relative duration of the notes remains invariably the same, whether the Cylinder be moved quicker or slower. In Musical terms the strain will be performed either Adagio, Largo, or Allegro; but it will be still either in common or triple time.

This is all I have to advance on my present subject, which is, perhaps, more than many of my readers may think necessary. Yet as the epithet metrical, affixed so constantly to Psalmody, clearly points out that, in the performance of it, the laws of Metre ought to be strictly attended to, I thought it expedient not only to prove, that they have been constantly neglected, but also to shew what seems to me to be the best method, by which they may so far be observed, as to make this part of our Church ritual, instead of a dull and unintelligible, a pleasing and reasonable Service.

END OF THE THIRD ESSAY.

ESSAY THE FOURTH,

ON THE

CAUSES OF THE

PRESENT IMPERFECT ALLIANCE

BETWEEN

MUSIC AND POETRY.

ESSAY THE FOURTH.

As many cursory observations have been made in the preceding Essays, which tended to prove how far Music, considered as an ally to Poetry, has deviated from what it was in the ages we call classical, it may seem to my Reader unnecessary to add any thing more on that subject. And indeed it was not my original intention so to do. Yet, if the fact be sufficiently proved, the causes, which have gradually operated to establish it, have not either been with sufficient precision historically deduced, or yet critically examined. To have done this in either of the two former Essays would have too much interrupted their particular subjects, and, like too long an Episode in a didactic Poem, impeded their progress. I have therefore thought it best to consider this point separately. And I flatter myself that the brevity and method, by which I shall extract the chronological notices of our two voluminous Musical Historians respecting this matter, will give the less informed Reader not only a general knowledge of the subject, but that if he admits my additional reflections on the various fluctuations, not of Musical Science but of Taste, he will

find the causes of this imperfect alliance sufficiently ascertained.

I must however previously observe, that although the Music of antient Greece and Rome might be a necessary assistant both to their Poets and Orators, we are not thence to conclude, that it was (when considered as a separate Art) then more perfect than it is at present. I was of this opinion in very early youth, and communicated my sentiments to my friend Mr. Avison in a letter which he was pleased to adopt, and to insert in one of the notes to his Essay, which therefore, supported by such authority, I shall here with a little variation repeat. "The * antients, when they speak of the marvellous "effects of Music, generally (I might have said con-"stantly) consider it as an adjunct to Poetry. Now an "Art, in its progress to its own absolute perfection, may "arrive at some intermediate point, which is its point "of perfection, considered as an Art to be united with "another Art; but not to its own, when taken separately. "If then the Antients carried Melody to that precise "point, it is probable, they pushed the musical Art as far "as it would go, when considered as an adjunct to Poetry, "but Melody united with Harmony is the perfection of "Music as a single Science. Hence then we may deter-"mine the specific difference between the antient and "modern Compositions, and conclude, that if Music as "an Art is now more perfect in itself, it is not so, when

* See *Essay on Musical Expression*, 2d Edit. p. 72.

" considered as a kind of vehicle to Poetry." Thus then by allowing to antient and modern Music their separate merits, I endeavoured to cut the Gordian knot, which it has not been in the power of the profoundest Musical Critics to unravel.

That the antient Musicians, who composed the modes for every species of metrical composition, attended strictly to the laws of each respective Metre, to which they adapted their melodies, is a matter universally assented to; and that this attention to Rhythm, Accent, and Quantity continued to the days of the Emperor Constantine historical evidence is not wanting; for then, when Christianity became the established religion, the Ambrosian Chaunt, governed by those antient rules, was spread from the Church of Milan through the rest of the Roman Empire.* It was not till near two hundred years after, that Pope Gregory, by introducing the Cantus

* See Burney's *History of Music*, Vol. II. p. 17, and Note. Ambrosius was made Bishop of Milan A. D. 374, Gregory in 590. That some part of the sacred Music of the Apostles and their immediate successors, when among their Gentile converts, was governed by the rules of Greek Poesy is by no means improbable, or that the Music of the Hymns, which were first received into the Church, wherever Paganism had prevailed, might have resembled that species of Rhythmical Music, which had been used for many years in Pagan ceremonies. The Versification of those Hymns gives us good reason to believe that this might have been the case. Examples may be found in all the antient Breviaries, Missals, and Antiphonaries, as well as in the modern, of every species of Metre, which has been practised by the Greek and Roman Poets, particularly the Alcmanian, Alcaic, and

which goes by his name, deprived Poetry and Prose also of its Rhythm, Accent, and Cadence; and this by establishing what is called Canto Firmo, and by banishing Rhythmical singing as too lively. He would not suffer verse to be sung, or rather, perhaps, would not let it be sung as verse, which his Canto Firmo, or notes of equal length, would most effectually prevent, because it was gay and paganish.

We are not therefore to impute the drawling prolongation of notes, in our mode of Psalmody, solely to a Calvinistical original; or the general neglect of verbal Rhythm, in our first English Composers of Anthems, to any other cause, than this old Pope's misconception of musical solemnity: for, as the same judicious Historian remarks in a subsequent place,* "Our first reformers were of "the same mind, and rejected the Romish mode of "Chaunting, which Ambrosius had introduced, thinking

Sapphic: See the above quoted History, Vol. II. p. 8, where also in a note the Historian tells us that Prudentius, who died A. D. 393, was the Author of most of the Hymns in the Roman Breviary. The Sapphic Hymn too, whence Guido took his names for the Gamut, *ut queant laxis resonare fibris, &c.* is another instance, among many, of this fact. But when Monkish and Leonine Verses afterwards came into fashion, the old Churchmen readily adopted them; and such Hymns, as jingled like the

Stabat Mater dolorosa
Juxta crucem lacrymosa, &c.

were soon added to the more antient ones written in classical measures.

* See Burney's History, Vol. II p. 22. Note (9).

" it too light, and like common singing; and that there " would be more reverence and solemnity in making " every syllable of equal length and importance, a prac- " tice which is still continued in parochial Psalmody."

Hence it was, that a short time after the introduction of Canto Firmo, the Melopeia of the Antients, that best of friends to their Tragic and Lyric Poets, was so entirely lost, that those, who hunt for its vestiges in Aristoxenus and other writers on Music, who existed the nearest to Classic times, have been unable to trace them. Hence it was that Pope Gregory, by adding a most unjustifiable length to solemn sounds, broke through every boundary of Nature and Reason; that sense was exiled, and sound only predominant; that the brighter beams of Poetry became eclipsed, at first totally, and of late, though sometimes partially, yet always enough to take away much of their original splendor. But the Muse became still more subservient to her younger Sister about 450 years after the Pontificate of Gregory, and sixty after Guido Aretin had formed his musical Scale or Gamut;* for, as his invention related only to an arrangement of the succession of the sounds of the Octave, it was capable at first of doing her but little

* The following chronological references may perhaps not be without their use to some of my Readers. The Greek Appellatives for the musical scale were used by Gregory, which were known to Boetius, who died 526, sixty-three years before he was Pope. The musical stave, or linear notation, was invented 950. Guido's Gamut 78 years after, in 1028.

disservice: Yet now a Mathematician, of the name of Franco, formed a table for the duration of musical time, in a Treatise which he wrote de Cantu mensurabili; and this he atchieved by inventing a species of Notation much more numerous, as to its characteristic signs, and capable, by these and other means, of ascertaining the length of particular notes relative to one another, as well as of specifying the distinction of different movements: An invention this, not only extremely ingenious in itself, but of such high importance to Music, considered as a single and separate science, that it never could have arrived at its present eminence, had not such an artificial mode of, what may be called, musical punctuation, and an improvement of its orthography been, as it then was, received into general use. It is indeed from this original scheme of Franco's that Composers and Performers are now possessed of the best and easiest mode, the one for conveying his Ideas, and the other for expressing them. "The modern musical Language or Character" (as Dr. Jortin truly says) "being, perhaps, of all Languages, as "expressed by our notation, the most true and exact, "and liable to the fewest obscurities and difficulties."*

So far then Music is undeniably indebted to the treatise de Cantu mensurabili, and the Time-table of Franco.

* See Letter to Mr. Avison on the Music of the Antients, printed as an Appendix to his Essay on Musical Expression. It abounds more with erudition than taste, and seems to have been the gleanings of the great Scholar's common-place book.

But whether either Poetry or Prose, when united with Melody, received a proportionate advantage, is a very different consideration. Sir John Hawkins was pleased to affirm, that by this improvement metrical and harmonical combinations were associated.* I say quite the reverse; that it added to the wounds which Pope Gregory had given to Rhythm, Accent, and Quantity, the constituent part of Metre, and made them much more incurable. But let us turn to the later, and much more intelligent Historian, who, at the same time that he justly applauds the Invention, gives us in the very first words of his Panegyric a truth, which clearly supports my opinion, and confutes that of the Historical Knight. "This invention," says he, "constitutes the true æra of "Musical Independence."† An independence of what? Of the very thing, which the other Historian had said it was become the Associate, Metre: for thus he proceeds: "Till then, if Melody subsisted, it was entirely subser- "vient to Syllabic Laws. Soon after this epoch, Music "became free and independent, perhaps to a licentious "degree, with respect to Vocal Music; but Instrumen- "tal in parts and in Florid Counterpoint certainly could "not subsist without a well-regulated Measure, and a "more minute and subtile division of time, than could "be derived from that of long and short syllables." This is writing like an Author perfectly acquainted with

* See Hawkins, vol. II. p. 31,
† See Burney, vol. II. p. 170.

his subject, not like a mere Compiler; and if he seems to congratulate Music on the independence she hereby obtained, he clearly discriminates how far she justly obtained it, allowing that she sometimes misapplied her freedom, by letting it run into licence, which, in my own opinion, as well as his, she could only do in that species of the art, which is called Vocal; for short and long syllables certainly require only two marks of notation to express their respective durations. The younger Vossius, therefore, however extravagant he is in his praises of the Antients and his reprobation of the Moderns, has occasionally many just sentiments; from his tract de Poematum Cantu et Viribus Rhythmi, I shall translate the following passage.* "As there are no "other syllables but long and short ones, and as of these "the short only consist of one time, and the long of "two; so should there be no more notes introduced, "than of two kinds agreeing with the Minim or Semi-"minim now called Crotchet. For whoever heard of "Syllables of eight, sixteen, or thirty-two notes in du-"ration? Or of others so short that no speech can ex-"press them? Who but must smile, when he hears the "sound of one syllable prolated so slowly, that two or "three heroic verses may most commodiously be recited "in the same interval of time?" and again "If we re-"store the Rhythmus, joined to a distinct pronunciation "of the words, so that the antient form and beauty of

* Isaac Vossius, p. 9.

"Music may return, all the common Ornaments of the "modern Cantus, I mean the small inflexions or * ite- "rations, fugues, syncopes, and other foolish artifices, "will vanish, as shades and clouds do, on the appear- "ance of the sun."

The Reader, I hope, will not conclude that, from my having inserted this passage, I am entirely of the learned Critic's opinion. I think he is much too rigid, in trying to reduce modern Music so precisely to antient Metrical and Syllabic Laws. My opinion has always been, that, so far as Prosody has to do with Quantity, it has ever been a ridiculous attempt to apply it to any other Language than Greek and Latin. Yet there is a Prosody in all modern tongues, which, though independent of Quantity as understood by the Greeks and Romans, is yet governed by something analogical to it. Thus when I say, as many of the best writers on the subject have said, that the English Heroic verse consists of Iambics, I do not mean that it will bear to be scanned by the rules of Lilly's Prosodia, but that we read it, as if it were composed of legitimate Iambics: and so of our other various Metres. Yet, on account of this analogy, though by no means strict identity, I think the measure, or rather motion of the Verse should be preserved in the Music, which, I believe, it may, if more than two or even three or four notes be applied to one syllable, whether of a long or short duration; provided that duration be strictly

* Teritiamata.

"namely, the Long and the Breve, or are indeed admis-
"sible into it;"* in this respect, so far as Church Music was concerned, agreeing with Isaac Vossius. But, what is still higher authority, the great Palestrina, when in the foregoing century he regulated the Cantus, admitted only the Long, the Breve, and Semibreve. These musical characters are, however, of little consequence, as the modern Crotchet, Quaver, and Semiquaver might answer the same purpose, if the Performer of the Music previously agreed to prolong their intonation, according to any preconcerted rule. The former notes, it is true, give to the eye an appearance of greater Solemnity, and in fact are meant to express a longer duration of sound; but the specific degree no musical signs can accurately express. Therefore Dr. Jortin, after the just encomium which he has given of the modern Musical Character which I have before quoted, adds, "that if the time of
"Grave, Adagio, Largo, &c. could be equally ascer-
"tained, nothing would be wanting to make it com-
"plete." And indeed it is only by these terms prefixed to every movement, that a Performer can guess how slowly or how quickly, or by what mode of expression the Composer meant his Music should be executed.

It may, however, be thought, and justly, that if Vocal Music could be brought so far back to what I have supposed to be classical Simplicity, and the Accent and Rhythm of words constantly attended to, yet still what

* See Hawkins, vol. IV. p. 274-5.

the Writers on Verbal Pronunciation mean by acute and grave sounds, or what they technically term Arsis and Thesis would want a proper discrimination. I admit the objection, yet, I apprehend, it is greatly in the Composer's power by rightly applying his higher and lower Notes, his sharper and flatter Key, with that variety of tones and semitones, which melodies of the greatest simplicity will admit, to remedy this defect, so far at least as may be necessary in so weakly accented a Language, as our own certainly is, when compared with those of Rome and Greece, or even of modern Italy: that of France I hold too nasal to be taken into musical consideration.

And thus, in as clear a manner, as the subject would possibly admit, I have enumerated the various changes, which Vocal Music has gone through since the Christian Æra. A very short recapitulation may, however, not be improper. In the very primitive times, before Christianity extended beyond the region of Judæa, the antient Hebrew Music must have necessarily prevailed, of which we certainly know less than Erasmus* in his time

* The passage I allude to, occurs in his Annotations on St. Matthew's Gospel, chap. xxi. ver. 42. " Ubi est igitur error " ille inextricabilis ac periculosus, nisi hic novus Hebræus suc- " currisset? Addam ridiculum quiddam: A duobus, ut dixi, locus " hic fuit impetitus, quorum prior confessus est apud Hebræos " sic habere, quemadmodum ego notaram; alter affirmat contra " habere; uterque se profitetur scire Hebraice et uterque suam " sententiam scriptis evulgavit, et interim Erasmus vocatur in-

thought was known of the language itself. When the Apostles had preached to, and converted so many persons to the Christian Faith at Athens, Corinth, &c. it is highly probable, that what I have called Classical Music was united with their Hymns or Psalmody, which, when the Church became established under Constantine, soon after, though perhaps with some corruptions, laid the foundations of the Ambrosian Chaunt, and was, as we have seen, syllabic and intelligible. But if the Gregorian retained this merit, it was rendered quite ineffectual; because, for the sake of what was deemed solemnity, every note was prolated in one uniform mode of Intonation. When Guido invented his Gamut, Sense became still more subservient to Sound; because the result of this invention was, that of Counterpoint, florid as well as plain, and the introduction of a variety of parts. But when Franco presented Music with his Time Table, her Charter of Independency was signed, sealed, and delivered; so that to this moment, where she deigns to take Poetry for a kind of humble companion, she suffers her to give her a Libretto, but takes the freedom to deliver to the public the contents of it, in whatever manner may best display her own absolute supremacy. Nay, she has sometimes gone farther, and, like the Tyrant Procrustes, stretched or contracted the metrical

" tractabilis, qui diffidat talibus monitoribus. *Atque ego sane* " *vix unquam duos vidi, qui in re Hebraicâ consentirent,* sive hoc " linguæ, sive hominum est vitium."

limbs of our very best Poets ad libitum, as her musical exigencies might require.*

I can recollect only one instance in which the sons of the Lyric Muse have maintained their own independency; and this but of late date, for when Colley Cibber furnished his pittance towards swelling the Chapel Royal throat,† he did it in the mode of Recitative, Air, and Chorus, but the succeeding Laureats, I speak it to their praise, have thought it their duty, both out of respect to their office and their reputation, to form their Odes on a classical, rather than musical model, and seem to have said to the Composers and their Band, with a slight variation of gender, what Horace said to those of the same tribe,

" Demetri, teque Tigelli,
" Discipulorum inter jubeo plorare Cathedras."‡

* See the Oratorio of Sampson, l'Allegro and Penseroso, &c. &c.

† See Dunciad, Book I. v. 319. ‡ Satyr. X. Lib. I. v. 90.

END OF VOL. III.

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